

# ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH FUTURE

BY VARIOUS WRITERS

EDITED BY  
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WITH TWO MAPS

אם אשכחך ירושלים תשכח ימיני.

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE publication of this volume was suggested by the heads of the Zionist movement, although the responsibility for it rests entirely with the editor and those who have collaborated with him in the production of the book. The project of a volume to set before English-speaking readers the meaning and achievement of Zionism could not have been realized but for Dr. Weizmann; and although my name appears as that of the editor, Mr. Leon Simon and Mr. A. M. Hyamson have been at least as active as myself in arranging and supervising the production of the book. To these three gentlemen, to all the contributors to the volume, and to Mr. John Murray—whose assistance has been deeply appreciated—I offer my thanks.

H. S.

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# ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH FUTURE

## INTRODUCTION

### ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH PROBLEM

BY DR. CH. WEIZMANN

WHAT is called the "Jewish problem" presents itself under different aspects in different countries, but when we get beneath temporary and accidental features, the problem is seen to be essentially that of fitting into the modern world a national group which has survived from ancient times without the ordinary attributes of nationhood. This is equally true whether the problem be regarded from within or from without, from the point of view of the Jew or from that of the world. The modern world sets the Jew the problem of maintaining some sort of distinctive existence without the external props of territorial sovereignty and a political machine, and the Jew sets the modern world the problem of finding for him a place in its social structure which shall enable him to live as a human being without demanding that he cease to be a Jew. In both cases what gives the problem its peculiar character is the fact that the Jews, regarded simply as Jews, as members of the national group to which Palestine belonged 2,000 years ago, no longer possess that national unity which is expressed in and secured by possession of a homeland, a common language, and common institutions.

The persistence of the Jewish people through 2,000 years of dispersion is due to its capacity for

organizing a group-life of its own, under whatever external conditions, on the basis of a spiritual idea—the idea of the eternity of Israel as bound up with the eternity and universality of the God of Israel. This idea, carrying with it as a corollary the belief in a future restoration of the people to its homeland, has been at the root of the Jewish attitude to life, and has supplied in the Jewish struggle for existence the place of the more concrete expressions of nationality. The people of Israel, the God of Israel, the land of Israel—these are the indestructible kernel around which has grown an outer shell of belief, tradition, religious observance, and social custom. So in Babylon, in Spain, in North Africa, in France and Germany, and later in Poland, large groups of Jews were able to create and carry on a distinctive life of their own, borrowing always from their surroundings—particularly in the matter of language—but remaining always completely conscious of a separate identity. The history of the Jewish people in exile is the history of the growth and decay of these successive centres of Jewish national life, or—if we may coin a term to indicate the absence of complete nationhood—*sub-national* life.

By far the most important of these centres in modern times has been the one which arose in Poland after the great migrations of the Jews from Germany in the Middle Ages. In Poland there grew up a vast Jewish community, homogeneous in its character and type of life, and differing in fundamentals from the surrounding non-Jewish communities. It had its own language—Judæo-German or Yiddish, a modification of the Middle High German which the first Jewish immigrants brought with them into Poland—its own system of education based on the Bible and the Talmud, its own communal organization, its own mentality and standard of values. This homogeneous Jewish group survived the partition of Poland, which split it up politically; nay, it extended into Russia and Roumania, and to a less extent into Germany and France. It was

from this group, as from a great reservoir, that Jews streamed out in ever-increasing numbers during the nineteenth century into the countries of the West, there to enjoy the political freedom and economic opportunities which were persistently denied to the parent group. With relatively few exceptions, there is not a Jew to-day in Western Europe or America whose ancestors, immediate or somewhat more remote, were not born and bred in one of the thousands of Jewish communities which in their totality make up the homogeneous, Yiddish-speaking sub-national group of Jews in Eastern Europe. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that East European Jewry has been for some centuries the real centre of Jewish life, and that its disruption, not accompanied by the establishment of another centre, would threaten the very existence of the Jews as a people.

It is one of the ironies of Jewish history that this vitally important centre of Jewry has carried on its life, especially during the last century, under material conditions as sorry and unenviable as could be imagined. Its solidarity, its faithfulness to its own traditions and way of life, its supreme value as a home of Jewish learning and Jewish idealism, have been maintained at a wellnigh incredible price. Turn where we will in Eastern Europe, the masses of Jews are degraded, either politically or economically, or in both respects, to a lower level than that of any proletariat in Europe. Exposed now to the harshest Governmental oppression, now to the hatred of an ignorant populace, cut off from the soil, denied access to trades and professions in which their abilities could have free scope—the Jews have obviously no material inducement to remain true to their own tradition. That the homogeneous Jewish group has persisted under such conditions is little short of wonderful. It is to be explained only by a quite exceptionally strong national instinct. But persecution and economic misery have done much. Jews have been driven in increasing numbers to emigration,

physical or spiritual. Vast numbers have sought refuge and betterment in Western Europe and America; many have given up the struggle and accepted baptism as a means of escape. And side by side with these disintegrating forces another force has been at work, more subtle, but not less sure. The maintenance of the traditional way of life has involved a certain hostility to modern culture and ideas; but these cannot be kept out indefinitely, and in so far as they penetrate into the Ghettoes, they act as a powerful solvent of established Jewish belief and custom, for which they substitute nothing that is distinctively Jewish, but only (at best) a broad universalism which means in practice the adoption of the national culture nearest to hand. Half a century ago some of the more far-sighted Russian Jews began to realize the danger of disintegration through the adoption of foreign ideas and customs, and to urge the only possible remedy—the establishment of a new centre of Jewry in the old Jewish homeland under free conditions, in which Jewish life, rooted in its own soil, could develop on modern lines without losing its essential individuality.

What further havoc these disintegrating forces might have wrought in the homogeneous Jewry of Eastern Europe during the next generation or two no man will ever know: for now the great war has come to precipitate their work. It is too early as yet to estimate even approximately the effect of the war on the great Jewish centres in which a part of it is being waged, but it is already obvious that it will deal a shattering blow at what has been for centuries the great reservoir of Jewish strength. Thus the war brings the Jewish problem into tragic relief. It is not merely that hundreds of thousands of Jews have been turned into homeless wanderers, exposed to the ravages of famine and disease, and with but the slenderest prospect of ever recovering such economic stability as they had before. That is the external aspect of the Jewish contribution

to the tale of war-suffering, and it is sufficiently appalling to arrest attention even at a time when horror stalks the world. But the inner side of the tragedy, of even more awful significance for the Jewish people, is the destruction of the homes of Jewish life and learning, the break-up of the social organism which, despite its lack of freedom and of material and political strength, has embodied most fully in the modern world what is vital and enduring in the character and ideals of the Jewish people. The havoc brought by the war to the Jews of Poland has been compared to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and the comparison is by no means fanciful. For the fearful blow strikes beyond the individuals at the very heart of the nation.

Superficially, indeed, it might seem that the importance to Jewry at large of the Jewish settlements in the Eastern theatre of war is here exaggerated. Granted, it may be said, that the sufferings of Polish Jewry are enormous, granted even that the ruin is irreparable, and that the Jewish people has indeed lost for ever one of its prime sources of strength, there yet remain the Jewries of the Western World, which command much greater material resources, and have infinitely wider possibilities of political action than the Russian and Polish Jews ever had or might expect to have. Is it not, in fact, it may be asked, a great source of strength to the Jewish people that it has not "all its eggs in one basket," so that the persistence of the people as a whole does not depend on the fortunes of a single group, however large and important?

The question is natural enough; but in fact the conditions under which Jews live in the Western World make it impossible for their communities to render to Jewry at large the particular service which has been performed hitherto by the Jewish settlement in Eastern Europe, despite their marked superiority in political freedom, in economic stability, in adjustment to the

demands of modern culture. For one effect of political and social emancipation on the Jews of the West has been to break up their solidarity. They have gained the right to participate in the lives of modern nations, not as a national or sub-national group, but as individuals. True, the different Jewish communities are still grouped around their synagogues and other institutions, chiefly of a philanthropic character. "Judaism," conceived as a religious system, takes the place of the sense of attachment to the Jewish people and its traditions and ideals. But from the point of view of Jewish solidarity the substitute is woefully inadequate, and its inadequacy becomes more glaring from generation to generation. On the one hand, the culture and aspirations of the State in which he lives play an ever-growing part in the inner life of the individual Jew, and restrict more and more the sphere of activities in which his Jewishness expresses itself; and, on the other hand, the conception of what it means to be a Jew becomes more and more vague and uncertain for lack of a concrete embodiment of Jewish life which could serve as a guiding norm. Hence the natural progress of the emancipated Jew is through assimilation to absorption in his environment.

This process would proceed to its logical end even more rapidly were it not checked by anti-Semitism. For the efforts of the emancipated Jew to assimilate himself to his surroundings, quite honestly meant and largely successful though they are, deceive nobody but himself. The record of the emancipated Jew in loyalty to his country, in devotion to its ideals and service to its interests, is unimpeachable. None the less, he is felt by the outside world to be still something different, still an alien, and the measure of his success and prominence in the various walks of life which are thrown open to him is, broadly speaking, the measure of the dislike and distrust which he earns. Thus the phenomena of assimilation and of anti-Semitism go on side by side, and the position of the emancipated Jew,

though he does not realize it himself, is even more tragic than that of his oppressed brother.

It is clear, then, that no set-off against the destruction of a great Jewish centre in the East of Europe can be found in the existence of materially prosperous communities of Jews in the West. The truth is that the facts of the Jewish position in East and West alike, properly regarded, point to the same fatal source of weakness in the Jewish struggle for existence—the lack of a stable home, in which the Jewish people could live and develop on the lines of its own national characteristics and ideals. Neither the herding of large masses of Jews in Ghettoes nor the recognition of the right of individual Jews to live as free human beings outside the Ghetto can compensate the Jewish people for the lack of such a home. This truth, which the history of Jewry in the nineteenth century had made evident enough, is thrown into still sharper relief by the events of the Great War.

It is this central problem—the homelessness of the Jewish people—that Zionism attacks. Its distinctive feature is that it sees the problem as a national one, not as the problem of this or that group of individual Jews; and it aims at removing the conditions which make the problem so acute, not at administering a palliative here and there. For so long as the conditions remain, the problem must always recur. So long as the Jewish people remains without a home, it must always be faced with the same terrible alternative—either a cramped, stunted, and precarious life in the Ghetto, or gradual decay and disruption under emancipation. But to find a home for the Jewish people does not mean to congregate all Jews together in one place. That is obviously impossible, even if it were desirable. The millions of Jews in Eastern Europe could not be transplanted by the wave of a wand to a Jewish land, and any gradual emigration must be more or less counterbalanced by the natural growth of population. The political and economic problems of the Jews in

Eastern Europe must be settled, for the great mass of them, in the countries where they live. Emancipated Jews, again, are for the most part unwilling to leave the countries of their adoption. Materially speaking, they are sufficiently well off where they are, and it will only be a minority in whom the Jewish consciousness will be sufficiently strong to draw them back to their own people. But, taking East and West together, there is a sufficiently large number of Jews who would be eager, given the opportunity, to help in laying the foundations of a new Jewish life in a Jewish land. The task of Zionism is to create that opportunity. As to the land that is to be the Jewish land there can be no question. Palestine alone, of all the countries on which the Jew has set foot throughout his long history, has an abiding place in his national tradition. It was in Palestine that the Jews lived as a nation, and produced the highest fruits of their genius. The memory and the hope of Palestine have been bound up with the national consciousness of the Jewish people through all the centuries of exile, and have been among the most powerful forces making for the preservation of Jewry and of Judaism. The task of Zionism, then, is to create a home for the Jewish people in Palestine, to make it possible for large numbers of Jews to settle there and live under conditions in which they can produce a type of life corresponding to the character and ideals of the Jewish people. When the aim of Zionism is accomplished, Palestine will be the home of the Jewish people, not because it will contain all the Jews in the world, but because it will be the only place in the world where the Jews are masters of their own destiny, and the national centre to which all Jews will look as the home and the source of all that is most essentially Jewish. Palestine will be the country in which Jews are to be found, just as Ireland is the country in which Irishmen are to be found, though there are more Irishmen outside of Ireland than in it. And similarly Palestine will be the home of Judaism,



not because there will be no Judaism anywhere else but because in Palestine the Jewish spirit will have free play, and there the Jewish mind and character will express themselves as they can nowhere else.

What Zionism has already done towards the accomplishment of this aim is outlined in the following pages. Summing up the results, we may say that under the influence of the movement, direct or indirect, there have grown up in Palestine the beginnings of a new Jewish life—small beginnings as yet, but full of promise for the future. In Palestine to-day there are Jews settled on the soil and in the towns whose national consciousness is Jewish and whose language is Hebrew. The ideal of the return to the land of Palestine, as the home of the Jewish people, has begun to take concrete shape. And concurrently with this development, and partly as a result of it, there has gradually come about a change in the outlook of Jews—a change which can be more easily felt by those who are in touch with Jewish affairs than it can be measured by facts and figures. This change is illustrated most concretely by the growth of the Zionist organization itself, with its 200,000 adherents in all parts of the world, its biennial representative Congresses, its network of financial institutions, its Press in many languages, and its incessant and extensive propaganda by the written and the spoken word. And outside the Zionist organization the national idea has begun to affect spheres of Jewish life in which a generation ago the drift towards assimilation was the only visible movement, and its influence will grow with the growth of its concrete embodiment in Palestine.

With the development of this embryo settlement into a fully-fledged and self-conscious national group the Jewish problem will enter on a new phase. It is not pretended that the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people will immediately end all the ills to which Jewry is heir, or will solve as by magic all the problems of adjustment that the existence of the Jewish people

creates both for Jews and for the world. A man who is rescued from the quicksands may still have a hard struggle for existence; but at least he is on solid ground, and can use whatever of strength and wit he is endowed with. So it will be with the Jewish people. Restored once more to firm ground, it will be able to fight its battle for life and growth, instead of spending its energies in the ineffectual clutchings and gaspings of a drowning man. History justifies the faith of every conscious Jew that the striving of his people after full self-expression will be fraught with advantage to humanity in its progress towards higher and higher reaches of culture and civilization. The Jewish nation has stood from time immemorial for the loftiest of spiritual ideals; its life through two thousand years of exile has been one long tribute to the supremacy of the things of the spirit; the record of the Zionist movement itself is proof of the power of an ideal to stir the Jewish people to-day to new life and heroic effort. Nor should it be necessary to urge the importance of the contribution that might be made to the solution of the age-long problem of East and West by a vigorous and progressive Jewish nation in Palestine, which is marked out by its geographical position to be a highway of commerce and of culture no less than the Jewish people is fitted by its history to be a mediator between the East, in which it has its roots, and the West, in which it has been tried and schooled for centuries.

In the settlement which will follow the War the Jewish question will demand the attention of those whose task it will be to build a new order on the ruins of the old. Jews will ask, as they have asked before, for equal treatment in countries where hitherto they have been denied the rights of men and citizens—and this time perhaps not in vain. But even more urgent than the claim of the individual Jew to human rights will be the claim of the Jewish people to that equality of opportunity which it can achieve only by becoming once more master of its own destinies. The principle

of equality of opportunity, long recognized by progressive states in their internal economy, is of no less vital importance for nations than for individuals. The Jewish people will claim the benefit of that principle. It will support its claim by no armed force, for, though Jews shed their blood for every belligerent country, there is no Jewish army. Its appeal will be based on right and justice alone. If right and justice are to be the foundations of the new order, the appeal will not be unheard.

## A CENTURY OF JEWISH HISTORY

BY H. SACHER

IF we contrast Jewry on the eve of the French Revolution with Jewry to-day, two differences stand out—a change in distribution, and a change in internal structure and quality. The first, the scattering of the Jews along all the highways of Western civilization, the partnership of the Jewish people in all the wanderings of the European peoples, is an obvious characteristic of nineteenth-century Jewish history—so obvious, indeed, that its importance is in some danger of being exaggerated. We see in North America a Jewish settlement perhaps 2,000,000 strong, and in South Africa and Australia other Jewish communities prosperous and self-confident. These communities bulk large, and it is easy to fall into the error of imagining that the centre of gravity in Jewry has in the last hundred years passed from the Old World to the New. The only considerable body of Jews outside the Old World is that in North America, but to-day three-quarters of all the Jews of the world still live in Europe, and only one-sixth in America. The Jewish communities of the New World, like the Gentile communities, have been constituted by the overspill of the Old World. Emigration has taken only the superfluity. Even that does not express the full truth. European Jewry to-day is some 9,000,000 strong; it was probably under 3,000,000 strong on the eve of the French Revolution. Despite emigration, it has multiplied threefold—as fast, that is to say, as the Gentile population of Europe. The Jewish New World has as little grown at the expense of the Jewish Old World as

the non-Jewish New World at the expense of the non-Jewish Old World.

This comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish emigration needs certain qualifications. The stream of Jewish emigration has been fed predominantly from two sources—Russia and Roumania—and in both these cases persecution has been the driving force. Non-Jewish emigration from Europe has been much more general; the part of the West has been as significant as the part of the East. It has also been mainly determined by economic influences. The second qualification is that the great tide of Jewish emigration began later than that of non-Jewish emigration. Movement in some measure has, of course, persisted throughout the centuries, but it was in the eighties of the last century that the hosts of Jewry began to pour out from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

From what has been written, it will be seen that there can be no question of the numerical centre of gravity of Jewry having shifted out of Europe in the last hundred years. Equally little is there any question of a shifting of the moral centre of gravity. The only new Jewish community which could put forward any pretensions to competition with the old is that of North America. A community of some 2,000,000 souls is unquestionably a fact of importance, but the significance of American Jewry belongs far more to the future than to the past or the present. Its history is too recent for traditions to have taken root. The balance is so much against the native Jew, and so heavily on the side of the immigrant, that American Jewry is still mainly a reflection of East European Jewry; the pre-occupation with economic interests has left too little leisure for independent spiritual creation. The life of American Jewry has taken its inspiration from, rather than rendered inspiration to, European Jewry. That, of course, will not always be the case. When American Jewry has had time to consolidate itself and acquire an ethos of its own, it will make its independent contribu-

tion to the sum of Jewish life. Even now it is the favourite soil for numerous and interesting experiments which peripatetic European Jews in their infinite curiosity are making. In spite, then, of a century's interchange between the Old World and the New, any survey of Jewry of to-day may legitimately, and indeed must, take Europe as its centre.

Can we note during that period any significant redistribution of the Jewish population within the borders of Europe? Any attempt to answer that question must be preceded by the confession that accurate statistics are scanty, and bold guesses correspondingly numerous. There is the further complication that territorial boundaries have been greatly changed. On the eve of the Revolution there were some 25,000 Jews in England; to-day there are 250,000. In France there were some 30,000; to-day there are 100,000. In Prussia (excluding Posen) there were 32,000; to-day (inclusive of Posen) there are 410,000. In the rest of Germany there were perhaps 50,000; to-day there are 200,000. In Poland and Lithuania (1772) there were 310,000 Jews; in Russian Poland alone there are now more than 1,500,000. In Galicia (1795) there were 250,000, and in the rest of Austria-Hungary perhaps another 150,000; to-day the figures are 811,000 and 1,447,000. In the Netherlands there were 30,000; to-day there are 104,000. In Russia, excluding Poland, there were some 600,000; to-day there are some 4,000,000. These typical instances will give some idea of the movement of the Jewish population in Europe. The rate of increase has varied under varying conditions from community to community, and if we were engaged in speculating on the future of these communities, it would be necessary to analyze the influences which have been at work in each case. Variations in fertility, conversion, the influence of prosperity and of town life—all these are fascinating topics of sociological inquiry round which literature is gathering. For our immediate purpose they may be neglected.

If we adopt a division of European Jews according to the States ruling over them, then the chief Jewish communities in order of magnitude on the eve of the Revolution were the Russian, Austrian, German, Balkan, and French. The one change which has since occurred is that the British has taken the place of the French. The growth of British Jewry has been due mainly to immigration, and it is the only European Jewry which has been seriously affected by immigration. The importance of this particular migratory movement should not be exaggerated, because British Jewry is still numerically quite a small thing. The essential point to be noted is that the distribution of the Jews over Europe remains much what it was on the eve of the Revolution. Now, as then, the overwhelming majority is settled in Russia and what was once the Kingdom of Poland, with feelers thrust out into South-Eastern Europe, while the secondary mass is in Germany. The storms and the wanderings of a century have torn hosts of individual Jews from their abiding-places, but the balance of the communities has survived. In this matter the history of the Jews has not been dissimilar from that of the Gentiles among whom they have lived.

Very different must be the judgment upon the other change in Jewry—the change in internal structure and quality. The striking characteristic of European Jewry in the eighteenth century is its unity and its homogeneity; the striking characteristic of European Jewry to-day is its division and its heterogeneity. When the Revolution burst upon them, the great communities in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Poland, France, were so much alike that the phrase *K'lal Israel*, the commonwealth of Israel, sprang naturally to the lips. They constituted slightly different versions of the same social entity. To-day the Jewish communities of Europe are—at least, to the hasty observer, and often in the eyes of their own members—as various as the States or nations in which

they are planted. This contrast between unity and homogeneity on the one hand, and division and heterogeneity on the other, may be pressed too far, and the following pages will suggest some qualifications; but the passage from the one to the other, coupled with the various efforts either to give a new meaning to the traditional Jewish solidarity or to re-establish Jewish solidarity in a frankly new form, is the kernel of Jewish history since the Revolution. Clearly we shall not understand this movement unless we start with some idea of what the unity of Israel consisted in before the Revolution.

Without engaging in the tedious discussion of what constitutes nation and nationality, it will be admitted that similarity of religion, similar habits, practices, and customs, a common educational system, a common vernacular, similarity of communal organization, similarity in relations towards the State, are, taken together, strong bonds of unity. All these may be predicated of European Jewry on the eve of the Revolution. The chief Jewish communities in Europe were, if not States within the State, yet nations within the nation. This seems a hard saying to-day, because the Revolution and the nineteenth century established—not merely as the normal political entity, but as the tyrannical political conception—the homogeneous unitary State, with a compact territory and a single uniform language, culture, and race throughout its borders. The germ of this idea can be seen in Rousseau; the most eloquent and inspired exposition in Mazzini. The eighteenth-century statesman had not grown to it, and perhaps as one result of the present war the twentieth-century statesman may grow beyond it. It was natural to the eighteenth-century legislator, administrator, or political philosopher in Russia, Germany, or France, to look upon the Jews as a distinct “nation.” This implied two things: negatively, the Jew was excluded from the privileges of citizenship; positively, he had an organization peculiar to himself. Not only were



the public services, the professions, the crafts, the educational institutions closed to the Jew, but usually he was strictly limited in his rights of residence and movement. He could not marry without the permission of the Sovereign, and he was subjected to special taxation. But he was regarded less as an individual than as a member of a community. Communal responsibility for taxes on the Jews, communal responsibility for crime or misconduct by Jews, communal responsibility for the observation of the intricate codes of restrictive legislation to which the Jew was subjected, were the note of the Continental system. Inevitably the community which was burdened with these duties needed to be equipped with corresponding power over its members, and the coercive powers of the communal authority were those of a miniature State. It had its own law-courts, and its own system of law. The family law on marriage and divorce, for instance, the law of succession, and the testamentary law, were the traditional Jewish law, which was radically different from the law of the State. The communal authority not only acted as the Government's instrument for governmental needs, but it also exacted a fairly rigid conformity to the traditional Jewish mode of life, which, again, differed fundamentally from the mode of life of the peoples among whom the Jews were settled.

The constitution of the communal authority varied, but the general tendency was towards oligarchy, and the authority of the Rabbi was everywhere very great. It need hardly be said that the oligarchy was not always wise, just, or beloved, and that disputes within the body of any particular community were often complicated by disputes between communities as to the respective limits of their authority. But for our purpose, which is to give an outline of a general type, these details may be ignored. One caution should, however, be given. The community here referred to is not, as before, the whole body of Jews in a given

State, but the separate local groups of them in town or village. A practice of eighteenth-century despotism was to discourage combination between locality and locality, and it was natural that Poland was the one country to see something like a federation of the different Jewish communities. There the central authority was weakest, and the status of the Jews as the middle class most honoured. Yet even in Poland the glory of the Jewish Council of the Four Kingdoms waned throughout the eighteenth century, and was eclipsed by the partition of the kingdom.

The knowledge of Hebrew was at once more widespread and deeper than to-day. Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch was intended not for men ignorant of Hebrew, but for men who understood Hebrew and were ignorant of German. Hebrew, again, was not simply the language of religion, but the language of learning. It was therefore in the eighteenth century a more effective link between the Jewries of Europe than it is to-day. It was fortified by a common vernacular—Yiddish. All but a handful of the French Jews clustered in Alsace-Lorraine, where Yiddish was the language of everyday intercourse and business. Yiddish was the vernacular of the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Roumanian, and Russian Jews. A common tongue, therefore, united the whole of Continental Jewry, exclusive of the Sephardim (the Spanish and Portuguese Jews), who were not numerous outside the Balkans. It was not simply that all these Jews knew it—most Jews to-day have some measure of acquaintance with Yiddish—but (always excluding Hebrew) it was the one language which they really knew and used in intercourse among themselves. Individuals might command French, German, Polish, Russian, but these languages in no sense competed with Yiddish as the vernacular of the Jews. This common tongue was a bond and a pathway along which ideas spread rapidly from the Rhine to the Danube and the Vistula.

In 1789, "Reform," "Liberal," "Mosaistic," "Orthodox," "Rabbinical," and the various other epithets which now decorate Judaism, were still to be invented; the miracle of separating the Jewish cult and the Jewish people had not yet been achieved. "The Jew in the synagogue and the man everywhere else" was a pearl of epigrammatic wisdom still enclosed in the oyster. Judaism was one and indivisible. It was not simply a faith requiring belief in this or that theological proposition, nor a cult commanding observance of a round of fast-days and festivals, each with its hoarded tradition of custom and ceremonial. It was all these, but it was also a way of life. The *Shulchan Aruch*, the guide to a Jewish life, with all its meticulous prescriptions for the unimportant as well as the important episodes in the Jewish pilgrimage, was the law of conduct which all Jews followed. Here and there an individual might rebel and cast off the yoke of the law, but there was only one professed norm for the conscious Jew.

The Jewish mode of life rested upon the sure foundation of a Jewish education, an education in Hebrew literature and law. Unfortunately, there have not been preserved, or at least published, many documents relating to Jewish education in the eighteenth century, but we have two dating from the close of the seventeenth century. The system they described lived on through the following century, and relating the one to the greatest Jewish community in the West, and the other to the greatest Jewish community in the East, they bring out the spiritual and intellectual unity in Israel. The communal decree of Metz (1689) prescribed that every child should attend the *Cheder* (Hebrew school) all day till the age of fourteen, and from fourteen to eighteen take at least one lesson a day. It limited the number of hours that each teacher should teach, it provided stringent regulations for the instruction, and it made the community responsible for the school fees of the poor. Nathan Hannover,

writing of contemporary Poland, says: "In every community there was a well-paid dean, who, exempt from worry about a livelihood, devoted himself exclusively to teaching and to studying by day and by night. In every Kahal (community) many youths, maintained liberally, studied under the guidance of the dean. In turn, they instructed the less advanced, who were also supported by the community. A Kahal of fifty families had to provide for at least thirty such. They boarded and lodged in the homes of their patrons, and frequently received pocket-money in addition. Thus there was hardly a house in which the Torah was not studied, either by the master of the house, a son, a son-in-law, or a student stranger. They always bore in mind the dictum of Rabba: 'He who loves scholars will have scholarly sons-in-law; he who admires scholars will become learned himself.' No wonder that out of every fifty of its members at least twenty were far advanced, and had the *morenu* degree."

Of this educational system, which was universal throughout Continental Jewry, we may note three characteristics: (1) It was the traditional Jewish training, designed to give a knowledge of the Hebrew language and learning, to establish the specifically Jewish mode of thinking, and prepare for the specifically Jewish way of life. (2) It was popular and democratic, in the sense that every boy was taught something, and the treasures of knowledge were open to each according to the degree of his capacity. (3) It rested on the assumption that Jewish learning was the highest of human activities and the measure of a man's social status. The Jew was not debarred from acquiring other learning, and not a few Jews boasted of an all-round equipment, but Jewish education was the kernel of every Jew's intellectual discipline.

In this description of Jewish unity nothing has been said of any political or quasi-political machinery uniting the communities of various countries. Nothing of the kind existed. The sense of unity sprang from an un-

interrupted tradition of brotherhood; from a liturgy, language, habits, education, which emphasized it; from that whole complex of spiritual and intellectual forces which machinery may direct, but can neither create nor replace. It followed that intercourse between Jews paid very little heed to political boundaries. They took wives or husbands as the spirit moved them. They drew Rabbis and teachers from wherever they were best. In this universal Jewry—reminiscent of universal Christendom without Pope or Emperor—the predominant influence was exercised by the Russo-Polish community. It was not simply a question of mass, although that counted. The Russo-Polish community was the freest, the most self-respecting, the best educated, the most zealous in study, the most nimble of wit and understanding. It fed Middle and Western Europe with Rabbis and teachers, and led by its moral authority.

Though European Jewry was one, there was no lack of variety, and there were already indications of forces which might threaten its unity. Eighteenth-century Jewry had its questionings and its attempts at answers. They may be indicated by a brief reference to the three illustrious men who stand out in Jewry before the storm of the Revolution burst—Moses Mendelssohn, the Baal Shem, and Elijah Wilna. Of these, the first, though the best known, was the least original and the least significant. Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), a good scholar, had added to the traditional Jewish learning the contemporary scientific and philosophical equipment. His importance lies in the fact that he built a bridge between the traditional Jewish life and the conditions of Western Europe. The Jew needed a new formula for his Jewishness before he could fit into European society. Mendelssohn found the formula. By emphasizing the broad humanitarian conceptions of Judaism, its freedom from dogma, its rationality, he presented it as a religion which a cultured German could profess. For his own part he retained a strong

affection for the traditional Jewish observances, and clung to them tenaciously; but as we look back we cannot fail to see that the tendency of his thought was to rob them of their basis. By keeping the nationality of the Jew in the background, and setting up Judaism as mere religion in place of the all-embracing Jewish life and culture of the Ghetto, he was in effect giving up what was distinctively Jewish, and paving the way for assimilation. It was a process which had to be gone through if Jews were to be able to live as Jews in the modern world; and the process has been fruitful of good results as well as of evil. The work of Mendelssohn, for instance, gave an impetus indirectly to the revival of Hebrew as a language of current literature and to the scientific study of Jewish history and thought. But what stands out most clearly about Mendelssohn now is that he adumbrated (largely unconsciously) several lines of attack upon Jewish unity which were to be followed in the nineteenth century. Subsequent generations were to come upon them not so much as a result of his teaching as under the pressure of events. His immediate effect upon his own circle was to send many of its members out of Jewry. They drew from his teaching the not unnatural though not intended conclusion that Judaism had no *raison d'être*. This particular influence, large as it looms in certain kinds of Jewish writing, was not of much consequence. It touched only a fragment even of German Jewry, but Mendelssohn did become an example and a text to a certain school of assimilants of which representatives could be found throughout European Jewry.

If for Mendelssohn the Jewish problem was the Jew's unlikeness to the Gentile, and its solution was that the Jew should become as like as possible to the Gentile, for both the Baal Shem and Elijah Wilna the Jewish problem was the impoverishment of the Jewish spirit, and its solution was to purify the springs of Jewish life. A long succession of massacres and persecutions had darkened the life of Russo-Polish Jewry, and this

withering was reflected in the intellectual life as the decline of a free and vigorous activity into casuistry and asceticism. The Galician Jews have always been distinguished by a warm emotionalism, just as their Lithuanian brethren have been distinguished by their logical acuteness. The Baal Shem (1700-1760), born on the slopes of the Carpathians, was faithful to the temper of his countrymen. He preached salvation through simplicity, intense spiritual communion with God, mysticism. His influence spread, until his sect of the Chasidim, the Pious, embraced half of Russo-Polish Jewry. Like all mystical schools, it produced a heavy crop of abuses. It contemned learning; it developed a fantastic jargon and superstition; it imported into Judaism an utterly false and alien idea—the human intermediary between God and man, the miracle-mongering Wonder-Rabbi; it suggested an excessive individualism. But it had its good as well as its evil side. It chastened the excessive arrogance of the bookish; it brought learning nearer to life; it restored joy to a too ascetic world; it sent a tide of questioning and searching through a society in peril of uniformity and stagnation.

Elijah Wilna, the Gaon (1720-1797), stands for the true norm of Jewish evolution. The age needed something, but neither the abandonment of Judaism to eighteenth-century philosophy (which was Mendelssohn's panacea) nor the abandonment of Judaism to mysticism and individualism (which was the Baal Shem's) was the true Jewish remedy. That, for the Gaon, was the transforming of Jewish education by widening its scope and purging it of perversions. It must resume faithfully its character as the preparation for and the companion of the Jewish life. He reintroduced science, philosophy, and mathematics to Jewish study; he revolutionized Talmudical learning by rendering a just importance to the Jerusalem Talmud and other writings unduly neglected; he insisted on accurate knowledge of Hebrew grammar and the mastery of the Bible; he broke with dry-as-dust casuistry and authority; he made truth, logical consistency, not personal authority,

the test of the acceptability of a hypothesis; he established the influence of his own teaching; he confirmed and perpetuated it by inspiring the foundation of the greatest of all modern Talmudical colleges, the Tree of Life Academy at Wolosin; and he gave to after-generations the example of a true Jewish sage, simple, cheerful, devoted to truth, a servant of his people, exercising no authority except such as is yielded spontaneously to genius, learning, and lofty character. It was the Wilna Gaon who, more than any other individual, saved Russo-Polish Jewry from the perversions of the Mendelssohnian and the mystical schools.

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The Revolution let loose the nationalist movements, the working out of which constitutes much of European history in the last century. United Italy, Imperial Germany, Norway, the Balkan States—all can look back upon it as a shaping influence. Upon Jewry its effect was the reverse. The Revolution found Jewry one; it left it in dissolution. The communities of Jewry tended to be swallowed up in the compact, unitary, self-conscious, and self-assertive nationalist States into which the hammer of Napoleon was welding the paternal monarchies of Europe. Even before the Revolution statesmen and thinkers, especially in France, had been busying themselves with the idea of giving the Jews a position in the State less discreditable to the more liberal sentiments of an enlightened age. Nothing, however, of moment was attempted until the Revolution cut the debate short with a drastic solution.

On May 5, 1789, the National Assembly met. On December 24, 1790, citizenship on equal terms was extended to the Spanish, Portuguese, and Avignonese Jews. On September 28, 1791, all the Jews of France were given full equality before the law. This decree carried with it the abolition of all their separate com-



munal organization. The struggle for emancipation was brief but sharp. It was conducted by a few influential Jews, who had already passed outside the simple and secluded life of their brethren, aided by a few ardent lovers of humanity in the Assembly. The victory was a concession, not to the imperative demand of a united Jewish people, but to the logic of the principles of the Revolution. The struggle was too short to educate either Jew or Gentile into understanding all that it involved, and the victory was completer than the majority of French Jews expected or apparently desired. In the *cahiers* which the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine entrusted to Grégoire, they asked leave to retain their communal organization and the Jewish law of divorce and testamentary succession. Freedom of residence and occupation, freedom from special taxes and exactions, freedom to acquire education, were the chief rights they begged for—social rather than political liberty, and Jewish solidarity rather than complete assimilation and absorption. Only the handful of Jews in Paris announced boldly and bluntly that, “desiring to rival in patriotism all Frenchmen, they renounce the right of having chiefs drawn from their own midst, and demand like all citizens to be subjected to the ordinary jurisprudence and the ordinary tribunals.”

The subsequent history of French Jewry is determined by the manner in which emancipation came to it—its completeness, its suddenness, the lack of preparation of the mass of French Jews, its association with a political doctrine. The minority of Jews who were prepared for emancipation were an influence working out and imposing upon the mass of their fellows its full logic. Anti-Semitism in the nineteenth century, though often assuming an economic mask, has rested upon a theory of religious or racial solidarity—the State must be one in Christianity or one in blood. France is the only country which emancipated the Jews in the name of the rights of man, and so excluded both religion and race as tests of citizenship. This

made official anti-Semitism extremely difficult in the French State, and in point of fact the only definitely anti-Semitic French Government was that of Napoleon; and even he found the philosophic basis of the French State a serious obstacle to anti-Semitic policy. But precisely because the doctrine exacted much from the French State, it exacted much from the Jew. His religion, and still more his Jewish solidarity, were subordinated to his French citizenship. France, the classic example of the State with uniform homogeneous society and civilization, is also the classic case of assimilation.

It has been noted that the Jewish communal organization of France disappeared automatically with emancipation. All that survived of it was its debts, which constituted a tangled juridical and administrative knot for many years. We should make a great mistake in imagining that the consistorial organization which Napoleon imposed upon French Jewry, and which was subsequently copied in other countries, was in any sense an equivalent of the old communal organization. It was a piece of State machinery, the counterpart of the Concordat, for the exercise of State control over Jewish religious affairs, not an *imperium in imperio*. It implied that the Jews were just a Church, not a nation or nationality. It imposed upon the Rabbi and other Jewish leaders the duty of teaching that the essence of Judaism was the training of loyal, unquestioning French citizens, not the cultivation of the Jewish way of life. In organization, authority, breadth of function, purpose, above all in spirit, community and *consistoire* were as far apart as the poles.

The religion of the *consistoire* corresponded with its spirit. This is not the place to examine in detail the work of the "Great Sanhedrin" which Napoleon summoned to formulate Jewish law. The purport of its labours is summed up in the *préambule* to its decisions: "The Divine law, that precious heritage of our ancestors, contains both religious and political disposi-

tions. The religious dispositions are by their nature absolute and independent of circumstance or time. This is not the case with the political dispositions—that is to say, with those which constitute the Government, and were destined to rule the people of Israel in Palestine, when they had their Kings, priests, and magistrates. These political dispositions could not be applicable once the Jews ceased to form a nation.”

For the first time in Jewish history a body claiming authority reduced Judaism from the way of life of a nation to a mere cult, and it was done with the precise object of denying that the Jews are a nation. As was said by Furtado—the President of the Sanhedrin, and, according to Pasquier, a man the foundation of whose opinions was philosophic indifference, and who had learned the Bible only in Voltaire—the *préambule* “removes henceforth the chief obstacle which has hitherto prevented Governments from looking upon the Israelites as citizens.” It is often asked why the “Reform” movement touched French Jewry so little. The atmosphere of French life made religion of small account, but in the most radical of all “reforms,” the denationalizing of Judaism, the French led the way.

Immediately after the Decree of Emancipation, one of the Jewish protagonists, Beer Isaac Beer, issued a letter to his brethren, in which he impressed upon them the moral of the event. He told them that unless they changed their manners and habits, and their whole education, they could not hope for the esteem of their fellow-citizens. Their own fate and the fate of their children depended entirely upon changing their system of education. They must forget Yiddish, learn French, drop their German accent, and the name “German or Polish Jews,” and establish schools in which, side by side with Hebrew, French, science, and the crafts should be taught. The traditional Jewish education, in short, and the Jewish vernacular were to be displaced by a French education and by French.

The direct effect of the Revolution upon French

Jewry was either to overthrow or to undermine all those features which it had in common with the Jewries of all Europe, and which were the framework of Catholic Jewry—the common religion, the common mode of life, the common organization, the common educational system, the common vernacular. Of course, not all these changes worked themselves out immediately. In Alsace-Lorraine things moved more slowly than in Paris or in Bordeaux. But a new Jewry had been set up, clearly articulated in all its parts, and a new philosophy of Judaism evolved. Inevitably French Jewry in the mass came to conform to this norm, and the conformity was sealed by the war of 1870-71. One point, however, should be noticed. The change in French Jewry was almost wholly the result of favourable external forces. It was not worked out in the course of a prolonged struggle for human rights, which set Jews searching questions about Judaism. Even the proceedings of the Great Sanhedrin were no exception. Neither questions nor answers there corresponded to any travail of the Jewish soul. The delegates answered because the alternative threatened was expulsion. The logic of what they did under coercion was worked out not in France, but in Germany. The danger to which Judaism was exposed in France was less that of revolutionary or radical transformation than that of desiccation, a withering away from neglect.

The direct influence of the Revolution upon the fortunes of Jewry outside France varied with the degree of influence exercised by France. The Netherlands, as the Batavian Republic, became an image of Republican France, and in 1796 the Jews were given full emancipation in practice as well as in theory. As early as 1797 two Jews were elected to the National Assembly, and a year later a Jew was chosen President of that body. When Louis became King of Holland, he continued this Liberal policy, and he is notable as one of the few statesmen who did not think it fitting to require Jews

to purchase political freedom at the cost of their Judaism. He enrolled Jewish soldiers in a special regiment, in which every provision was made for the preservation of their fidelity to the Jewish cult. What the Revolution introduced remained after French control vanished. Spiritually, Dutch Jewry differed from French Jewry in two particulars: (1) It was divided into two powerful communities, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, the rivalry or the differences between which helped to keep Judaism a living thing in both. This tendency was strengthened by the steady immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe. (2) French culture is a much more powerful assimilant force than Dutch, and while the atmosphere of French society was anti-religious, that of Dutch society was religious. The long tradition of Jewish life in the chief centre of Dutch life, as opposed to the lack of any such tradition in Paris, where before the Revolution Jews had no right of residence, worked in the same direction. Judaism, on its religious side, remained, in spite of emancipation, a much more vital thing than in France. In Belgium, where the conditions approximated very nearly to those of France, the history of Judaism corresponded much more faithfully to the history of Judaism in France.

French rule in Italy carried with it the redemption of the Jews from an oppression which, except for Germany, was a shade darker than in the rest of Europe. The return of the Princes meant the return of tyranny. The Popes drove the Jews back into the Ghetto, and revived the choicest details of medieval anti-Semitism. The other Italian States, not excluding Sardinia, followed the lead of the Pope. Only in Tuscany was some relic of enlightenment maintained. Tuscany had, not for Italian Jewry alone, a peculiar virtue, for at Leghorn a famous Hebrew Press was established, and the tradition of Jewish learning was worthily represented by a handful of eminent Jewish scholars. In the later development of Italian Jewry two factors

were to prove most important: (1) To the Jews, just as to the Gentiles, the coming of the Revolution meant freedom, and the passing of it slavery. The fight for Jewish emancipation was therefore part of the general fight against tyranny. (2) It was largely a fight, and a fight common to Jew and Gentile, against Clericalism. The fact that there was a fight at all distinguished the course of Italian Jewry from that of French Jewry; the fact that Jew and Gentile fought side by side against a Church distinguished the course of Italian Jewry from that of German Jewry.

All Germany felt the impact of the Revolution, but in varying degrees. In the territory which came directly under French rule or under the rule of French dependants—the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand duchy of Frankfort, the grand duchy of Berg, Hamburg—the Jews were fully emancipated. In those States which entered the Confederation of the Rhine their status was improved. Even in the States not formally associated with France something was done. The kingdom of Saxony, the stronghold of German Protestantism, remained an astonishing exception. There no Jew, except a handful in Dresden, was permitted to live. The overwhelming majority of German Jews, especially after the partition of Poland, were under Prussian rule. The Great Elector, who had first invited the Jews to Prussian territory, had extended to them what was for the times liberal treatment. His successors modified this policy, and the great Frederick definitely made anti-Semitism a feature of Prussian statecraft. In the last years of the eighteenth century this, along with other parts of the Frederician system, found its critics, and during twenty years a series of commissions inquired into the Jewish question. The most notable opinion they evoked was Humboldt's demand for full emancipation, but nothing was done until 1812. The edict of that year was a corollary to the Stein reforms, and it bore the impress of the Stein philosophy. The Jews were

given citizenship, but without political rights and without admission to the public services.

The political status of the Jews of Germany during the Revolutionary era was thus a microcosm of their status throughout the world. It ranged from complete equality where the full weight of French influence was felt through various shades of tolerance to complete exclusion. The spiritual state of Jewry was just as multifarious. In Berlin a handful of notorieties, chiefly women of the *arriviste* type, had flung away Judaism and proclaimed themselves the missionaries to Germany of the new classicism or the new romanticism. The great mass of German Jews were still faithful to the traditions, the practices, and the outlook of their fathers. Between the two extremes were numerous attempts at combining old and new. The great ferment of German Jewry with the radical changes it brought about belongs, however, to a later period. During the Revolutionary era three important tendencies are to be noted: (1) Emancipation, political and social equality in their fullest sense, became a living, *the* living issue for German Jewry. (2) The old communal organization, resting upon the idea of the Jews as a people, everywhere disappeared. Often it was replaced by a consistorial system modelled upon the French; nowhere was the *imperium in imperio* allowed to remain. This inevitably weakened the national solidarity of the Jews, and taught them to regard themselves as individuals, or at best as a religious community. It also weakened the authority of the traditional Jewish mode of life, and prepared German Jewry for absorption into the German nation. (3) The German Jews obtained admission into the German schools and Universities. This carried with it the neglect of the specifically Jewish education. As a further consequence German Jewry threw off its moral allegiance to Russo-Polish Jewry, which in process of time was replaced by a painful arrogance and contempt. It need hardly be said that German

rapidly conquered Yiddish as the vernacular of German Jewry.

In Austria, characteristically, the Revolution provoked reaction, and the Liberal policy of Joseph II. was followed by a renewal of restrictive legislation. The condition was not uniformly the same. It was very bad in Hungary, less bad in Galicia and Bohemia. A handful of Austrian Jews had acquired wealth and developed social ambitions. There was some discussion of the need of modernizing education, and there were some attempts to do it. But the mass of Austro-Hungarian Jewry remained much as it had been, and in that mosaic of races there was no clamant, insistent nationalism to disintegrate the Jewish national consciousness. This influence came later to Austria-Hungary than to any other European country except Russia.

To appreciate the position of Russo-Polish Jewry we must remember that until the Revolution it exercised a moral and intellectual hegemony in European Jewry. The Russo-Polish Jews were the intellectual and religious leaders of their brethren, and their politico-social status was superior. Under such conditions the compassionate patronage which now marks the attitude of Western Jewry was unthinkable. The Revolution initiated this change of sentiment. It was not that it meant immediately a decline in the status of the Jew in Russia. If the Jew was not emancipated in Russia, he shared this political subjection with the Russian people, certainly not his superior in education, intelligence, vigour, and initiative. It was the change elsewhere which affected the prestige of Russian Jewry. The spread of modern education in the West necessarily brought into disrepute the specifically Jewish education of Eastern Jewry. True, under Alexander I. the Universities and the schools were thrown open to the Jews; but, on the one hand, the Russian educational machinery was very shadowy in comparison with the French or German, so that its



capacity to influence Jewry was at best very limited, while on the other hand the fidelity of Russian Jewry to its own educational system was correspondingly firm. It should be added that a characteristic instability and lack of persistence distinguished Russian policy towards the Jews. Efforts to absorb them into the general body of the Russian people were always followed by spasms of persecution which drove them back upon themselves. All the forces which tended to break down the features of Western Jewry common to all Jewry and to develop local patriotism, local culture, local habits and outlook, tended to weaken the authority and the supremacy of Russo-Polish Jewry. The note of Western Jewry was movement from the Jewish to the non-Jewish; the note of Eastern Jewry was loyalty to Jewish tradition. Doubtless because the Russian State still retained the primitive inorganic character of the pre-Revolutionary period, Russian Jewry preserved in large measure the communal machinery, the law, the life, of a Jewish people in no inconsiderable degree the master of its own destinies. A puff from the Mendelssohnian breeze reached her occasionally, but the ship kept to her ancient course.

### THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION.

Just as during the Revolutionary era France fills the foreground of the picture, so during the age of emancipation the foreground is filled by Germany. For the French Jews there was no looking back. Napoleon's temporary decrees of an anti-Semitic character were not renewed by his successors, and the remaining distinctions between French Jew and French Christian vanished when in 1831 Jewish Rabbis were granted State subsidies, and in 1846 the oath *more judaico* was abolished. Equality was not a thing of paper. Jews crowded into the schools, the Universities, the army, the Civil Service, the professions; they

even reached the Ministry. They were launched upon the great tide of fortune, and those on whom the fascination of this new life took hold had little thought for the treasures or traditions of their people. Two processes were going on—a steady Gallicization of Jewry, and a decline of interest in Judaism. When the Rabbinical seminary was founded in 1829, one of its rules forbade the admission of any student who was not a Frenchman. That was the end of the Catholic conception of Jewry so far as the French Rabbinate was concerned. Two years later the Paris Consistory declared that henceforth no sermon “may be preached in the Temple except in the national tongue.” This was the official ban on the lingua franca, Yiddish, which for centuries had done something to keep open a pathway between Eastern and Western Jewry. Of course, in Alsace and Lorraine a knowledge of Yiddish survived, and it was the war of 1870 which gave it its death-blow in France; but, apart from the inevitably disintegrating influence of French culture and the lure of brilliant careers, the centre of gravity of French Jewry was rapidly passing from these Eastern provinces to the capital. The community of Paris, which on the eve of the Revolution numbered some 500 souls, attracted to itself the brains and the ambitions of French Jewry. The transference of the Rabbinical seminary from Metz to Paris in 1859 was symbolic. It meant not merely that the authority had passed to Paris, but that it had passed from what had been the most consciously Jewish to the least consciously Jewish community in France.

It was not desire for change in Jewish matters, but indifference, which marked the French Jew as well as the French Gentile. True, in the twenties the author of the “Lettres Zarfatiques” suggested radical transformations of doctrine and practice, but they met with little response. The naïve patriot who proposed that the second day of Passover should be celebrated on the anniversary of emancipation, that it should be

devoted to recalling Mirabeau and Grégoire, not Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Tarfon, and that the *shochet* should be known as *sacrificateur* and the *mohel* as *péritoniste*, expressed more faithfully educated French opinion. It was very shallow and very bored. The French Jews were not even troubled to work out the logic of the Great Sanhedrin. That institution had served its purpose for both State and Jew. A writer of 1832 tells us that "not only are the decisions of the Great Sanhedrin very little known by most Jews, but the Jews have never taken them seriously, knowing that they were formulated under the pressure of fear inspired by the choleric will of the steel sabre of Marengo. . . . Copies of these doctrinal decisions have become extremely rare." In 1856 a Conference in Paris discussed religious "reforms," but its deliberations amounted to very little. There must be some strong driving force, external or internal, to produce acute interest in or controversy over religion. No such force was present in French Jewry.

The influence of French Jewry upon the fortunes of universal Jewry of this time was of a superficial character. It provided the model and the inspiration during the struggle for equality of rights. The French Jews took their citizenship courageously. They asserted it abroad as well as at home. A series of episodes in the thirties and forties indicated the determination of the French Jew to suffer no discrimination in his treatment by foreign Governments between French Jew and French Gentile. That was really valuable when dignity and courage were qualities particularly needed in the struggles of the hour. There was another direction in which the French Jew broke fresh ground. He was the first Jew to appreciate that the nationalist movement had shattered the ancient Commonwealth of Israel, and that some new organization or outlook was required to repair the ravages. This is a point which we shall have occasion to develop later. For the moment it is enough to note it.

We are justified in concentrating our attention during the emancipation movement on Germany rather than on, say, England, not only because in Germany it affected the fate of a far larger body of Jews, but still more because in Germany emancipation was only the political expression of a profound social, moral, and intellectual transformation. The defeat of Napoleon was the signal for the return of the Jews to the Ghetto. In the provinces, cities, or States where French rule or French influence had given the Jews full citizenship, they once again became helots. In those States where there had been at least some relaxation of restrictions—Prussia was the foremost exemplar—reaction, either brutal and candid, or hypocritical and legalistic, set in against the Jews. The reaction in Germany had a quality peculiar to that country; it rested on a “philosophic” principle. The State must be a Christian State. The Jews, therefore, could not be partners in it. That prejudice has bitten very deep in a people otherwise not remarkable for religious idealism. It was fortified by another, in rigorous logic perhaps incompatible with it. Romanticism developed race pride, the conviction of the godlike quality of the Teuton, and the Divine call of the Germanic people. That was not helpful to the emancipation of the Jew. It may be urged that the same reaction which enchained the Jew denied the Gentile a constitution, and that the struggle for emancipation in Germany ought to have been, as it was in Italy, part of the general Liberal movement. It was, on the one hand, true that German Jews flung themselves into the Liberal movement, so that a critic could say that “Young Germany is really Young Palestine,” and that 1848, the year of constitutions, was also for the majority of German Jews the year of emancipation. But the anti-Semitic prejudices of the period of reaction had been planted solidly in the masses, and were never eradicated from the Government. Many of the rights conceded to the Jews remained paper rights, while anti-Semitism, as the

demagogy of reaction, took a permanent place among the accredited instruments of Government policy. The genuinely Liberal movement in the Western sense of the word, individuality without chauvinism, was confined to a small circle. Even then it had certain peculiarities. It was indifferent to religion, and it assumed that the State must be homogeneous and uniform, and could tolerate no group peculiarities. In its support of Jewish emancipation it imposed conditions, not so much formal conditions, perhaps, as atmospheric conditions.

Apart from instinctive anti-Semitism, two obstacles were set by authority in the path of Jewish emancipation. The Jews were denounced as a nation, and they were denounced as professing a religion incompatible with modern civilization. The last indictment was put without circumlocution by the Bavarian Parliament, which, when petitioned for emancipation, replied by inviting the Jews to suggest religious changes necessary for their civilization. Looking back, we can see the effective answer which a Jew could make to the first charge. He could say that Jews were not claiming any of the political machinery within the German State commonly associated with a nation, but only the right to contribute their own peculiar *Weltanschauung* and mode of life along with other nations, to the general enrichment of German society. He could have said, as Lord Acton was to say a few years later, that "the combination of different nations in one State is as necessary a condition of civilized life as the combination of men in society. It is in the cauldron of the State that the vigour, the knowledge, the capacity of one portion of mankind may be communicated to another. If we take the establishment of liberty for the realization of moral duties to be the end of civil society, we must conclude that those States are substantially the most perfect which, like the British and Austrian Empires, include various distinct nationalities without oppressing them. The coexistence of several

nations under the same State is a test as well as the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilization, and, as such, it is in the natural and providential order, and indicates a State of greater advancement than the national unity which is the ideal of modern Liberalism."

This, however, was not the language which the exponents of the Jewish emancipation cause used or thought of using. It would certainly not have appealed to the German Governments, wedded to authority; it would hardly have appealed to the German peoples, flattered by the legend of Teutonic virtue, and intoxicated with the dream of creating a powerful political State. But, indeed, the protagonists of emancipation in Germany shared the fashionable political philosophy of their time. The uniform homogeneous State was the only one they understood, and they had passed by so swift and drastic a revolution from the *Cheder* and the *Yeshiba* to the Gymnasium and the University that the only culture they were interested in was German culture. The only answer they could make to those who denied the Jews the rights of citizenship because they constituted a nation was to deny that the Jews are a nation. They all did this, from the most virile (like Gabriel Riesser) to the most servile. This denial, it has been seen, was first formulated by the Great Sanhedrin, but it was formulated after emancipation, not as the price of emancipation, and it was formulated plain to all the world under duress. It was the enthusiastic revival of this denial by German Jewry—incidentally be it observed that the leaders of German Reform and German emancipation awakened the labours of the Great Sanhedrin from the slumber of obscurity—which made the negation of Jewish nationalism the cardinal principle of a large school of opinion in every Western community.

On the religious side there was less unity among the German Jewish leaders. Gabriel Riesser repudiated with indignation the suggestion that Jews should buy

political rights by the sacrifice of their religion, and under his inspiration the Jews of Bavaria answered their Diet that "those matters which concern the soul of man cannot be the subject of a political transaction." Reform historians anxiously insist that the Reform movement was not the product of political expediency, but expressed a spontaneous demand of the Jewish soul. Gabriel Riesser said of the Frankfort *Verein der Reformfreunde*: "Its only purpose is the effect it may produce upon the civic authorities." Something of the kind could be urged against the Reform movement in general. Stern (himself a leader of drastic reform) wrote: "We can say without hesitation that the real active impulse to the creation now of a religious service in harmony with the age has been, not so much the longing to satisfy a felt religious need, as the desire to secure a worthy representation without of Judaism and its culture." As a simple matter of historical truth, the Reform movement in Germany is in substance part of the struggle for emancipation. It begins with that struggle and it dies away with it, and its central features are political, not religious. These features are: (1) That there is no longer such a thing as a Jewish nation. This was suddenly discovered to be a supreme virtue, the redemption of the Jewish religion. The scattering of Israel became the mission of Israel in the mouths of these sophisticated disciples of Dr. Pangloss. The same stroke which was to open a career for the Jewish *arriviste* was to open a career for Judaism. (2) The Jewish tradition as expressed in the Talmud and the later codes was no longer authoritative, and could be abrogated according to individual taste and convenience. This tradition embodied, as has been pointed out, not simply a Jewish cult, but the specifically Jewish way of life, which was now to be abandoned because it stood in the way of the assimilation which was the price of citizenship. (3) Hebrew was to yield place to German as the language of worship and prayer. As one of the leading

Reformers himself put it: "Every new phase in the whole movement is marked by a further penetration of the German language into the life of Jewry."

(4) The substitution of the individual for the Commonwealth of Israel, as the norm in the shaping of prayer, in the acceptance or rejection of practices, in the weighing of all the problems of Judaism. (5) The elimination of Palestine as a motif. It can hardly be disputed that these changes represent not a religious transformation as the world understands such things, but a political transformation. The impulse was given by something wholly external to Judaism, and the standard was set by a society which, to say the least, was not Jewish. Of course, this was much less obvious to contemporaries than it is to us, and, indeed, many of the Reformers claimed to be continuing the chain of tradition. But not to know ourselves is a common enough failing, just as it is to use the past as a ragbag out of which shreds are picked arbitrarily to lend a pedigree to what we have adopted quite independently of historical associations.

In any record of the decline and fall or the Commonwealth of Israel the significance of the emancipation movement in Germany must be ranked high. Though we may say, on the one hand, that political emancipation was far completer in certain countries, and on the other that religious reform as worked out in Germany had only slight influence outside Germany itself, except in the United States (where, again, the conditions were sufficiently different to make the consequences very different), yet the whole doctrine of emancipation—which is the characteristic feature of nearly a century of Jewish history—was developed in Germany as a complete philosophy of politics and religion. There and beyond the borders of Germany by its fulness and lucidity it exercised the fascination due to everything which rises above empiricism to logic and system. Those in other countries who, whether sharing or not the religious views of the German school, felt in equally



strong measure the fascination of surrender to Gentile civilization, found in the teachings of the German emancipation school the formulas which sanctified the abandonment of Jewish nationalism and guaranteed the celestial bliss of Paradise along with the fleshpots of Egypt.

It was the inner purpose of the emancipators to break up the Commonwealth of Israel, but it was also their professed hope to preserve Jewry in its new form as a patriotic and denationalized sect. Destruction proved to be easier than preservation. The first was carried so far that just as in England certain Jews did not scruple to take part in an agitation aimed against admitting alien Jews to England, so in Germany native Jews thought fit to exclude alien Jews settled in their midst from a share in the governance of the synagogue. Side by side with this species of Protectionism there went internal decay. Marriage declined, the birth-rate fell, intermarriage and conversion to Christianity increased. There was a certain logic in all this, and the German *milieu* made for logic. The general result of the emancipation striving was to create the impression that there is nothing in Judaism which is either distinctive or worth sacrifice. The children and immediate disciples of Mendelssohn had drawn that moral from his teaching, and in all subsequent periods some brilliant German Jews enforced it by their example. The pride of German Jewry in these distinguished men even after their treason—a pride by no means limited to German Jews—did nothing to check the tendency towards disintegration.

There is not space for more than a very brief reference to the working out of emancipation in the other European communities. Italian Jewry, redeemed from the Ghetto by the triumph of the Liberal and National movement, followed much along the lines of French Jewry. The circumstance that it was predominantly Sephardic gave the specifically Jewish tradition somewhat more vitality, and this may have been helped by

the greater heterogeneity of the Italian State and people. Italy was created out of a mosaic of principalities, each with its own memories and its own marked peculiarities. Italian Jewry could resist complete absorption more easily than French Jewry. In Austria the German model was followed by the minority. The mass of Austrian Jews lived in Galicia, and preserved the Jewish tradition, though in a mutilated form. Chassidism, with its wonder-working Rabbis and its indifference to learning and intellect, had a strong hold on the Galician Jews; and, the leaders of Austrian Jewry being themselves pronounced assimilants, the aspect of this community was one of chaos. It was not likely, however, that in a State constituted as a kind of federation of nationalities the idea of Jewish nationality could seem as obviously treasonable as it seemed to the German Jew. In Hungary, however, the course of events differed. The Hungarian national movement became a Magyarizing movement, and the principle of Hungarian politics became the tyrannizing of the Magyar over the non-Magyar elements. This particular phase of Hungarian politics did not begin until 1848, and it did not affect Hungarian Jewry till later. Hungarian Jewry included a considerable Chassidic section, and, for the rest, was faithful to the Jewish tradition as it had been shaped by the Ghetto. As late as the forties the Hungarian Rabbis in conference boldly proclaimed that Palestine was the Jewish fatherland—a declaration which drew upon them this illuminating rebuke from a German-Jewish historian: "No wonder that the patriotic Magyars were hostile to these Oriental strangers!"

Nevertheless, in later years, when emancipation came and Hungary escaped from the control of Vienna, the Hungarian Jew in search of a career tended to become a Magyar patriot, who could even at times create for himself the illusion that he was Magyar in race and blood as well as in sentiment. This very curious phenomenon was eventually accompanied by intermar-

riage, perversion and indifference to Judaism, on the German lines. Nevertheless, a strong orthodox body persisted, and offered considerable resistance to the corroding influences of Judæo-Magyarism. But this orthodox element was too often either Chassidic or antipathetic to Jewish nationalism.

It is worth while saying a few words about this new species of orthodox, denationalized Judaism. It has its representatives on the Continent—the Frankfort school is the best-known there—but it is most notably exemplified in Anglo-Jewry. The characteristic of English life is compromise, and the characteristic of Anglo-Jewry is compromise. It excludes Jewish nationalism from its thought and its outlook, and it retains in its ritual all those features which are there for no other reason than that Judaism is the religion of the Jewish people. Its official view is that Judaism is only a cult, and it is inclined to model Jewish ecclesiastical organization after the pattern of the Established Church. Nevertheless, it proposes to rest Judaism on the *Shulchan Aruch*, and to give the immigrant Jew precisely the same synagogue as he would find in the Russian Pale. It repudiates the idea of change or reform, and insists upon its communion with universal Jewry; yet its pride is to be British, it refuses to have a Chief Rabbi who is not by education English-speaking, and it tries to use the machinery of the British State to enforce its authority. These bristling contradictions do not disturb the mind of Anglo-Jewry, but, like most things in this world, they have to be paid for. They have produced a melancholy weakness on the intellectual side. Anglo-Jewry has made hardly any contributions to Jewish learning, and its contempt for Jewish education, whether of the congregational leaders or of the congregation, has become a byword.

We may conveniently reserve what is to be said of the fortunes of Russian Jewry during the period of Emancipation for a later stage, when the whole contribution of Russian Jewry can be dealt with. For

the present we may note that the prestige of Russian Jewry steadily waned. In a period when the acquisition of political rights was the hallmark of esteem, the Russian Jews, still political helots, lacked the qualifications of the new aristocracy in Judaism. In a period when identification with the culture of the world around was the badge of superiority, the fidelity of the Russian Jew to the traditional Jewish education stamped him with inferiority. In Germany, "Polish" or "Russian" became a term of contempt. "Salomon Dubno was one of the very few Polish Jews ready to sacrifice material profit for honour," "the most ignorant of all idiots, and the coarsest of all torturers of youth"—these words of Kayserling and of Stern represented the attitude of the new German Jewry towards that Russian Jewry by whose intellectual and spiritual strength their fathers had been guided. Elsewhere in the West, where Jews had no anti-Slav formula to borrow from their neighbours, such brutality of speech was avoided. There was a good deal of pity (and in fairness to German Jews it should be said that they too have never lacked philanthropy), but there was a complete failure to appreciate the true value of Russian Jewry from the standpoint of Judaism. We are, however, approaching a time when a juster view begins to revive.

#### THE REVIVAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ISRAEL.

What has been sketched above has been the decay of the Commonwealth of Israel as it was constituted in Western Europe and existed for many centuries. It was a commonwealth adapted, if we may so express it, to a Jewry confined to the Ghetto. On a truer view it was a commonwealth adapted to the medieval State system. That State system passed away when the Revolution, in attempting to affirm the rights of man without epithets, succeeded in establishing the homogeneous nation-state as the tyrannic political idea

and fact. The contribution of Western Jewry to this new political system was the surrender of the Commonwealth of Israel. The common vernacular, the common way of life, the common communal organization, the common religious outlook, the vivid instinct of a world-Jewry without political boundaries—all were abandoned. They were apparently cast away without regret, and certainly without understanding. The act of self-abnegation was idealized as liberating Judaism from the bonds of a superstition which hampered it in the fulfilment of its world-mission. Yet Western Jewry was not so bad as its protestations. There is evidence that the sense of Jewish brotherhood survived, and that the need of giving expression to it, of reconstituting the commonwealth of Israel in a form adapted to the age and its ideas, was felt. It was felt far more than understood, it was instinctive far more than intelligent. That was inevitable, for on the strict logic of the emancipation school Jewish brotherhood was an absurdity. The Jews could not be brought together under the rubric of a nation by a school whose cardinal principle was the denial of Jewish nationality. They could not be grouped together as adherents of the same religion, for the diversities of religious belief and practice were too numerous and too radical to allow it. Yet Western Jewry persisted in acting upon the assumption that all the Jews were, in some sense or other, one; and it is profoundly interesting to study their various efforts to find some expression for their instinct of unity which should be compatible with the doctrine of emancipation. All these efforts, whatever their merits from other points of view, inevitably from this point of view were failures.

The formula hit upon in England was philanthropy. The sense of brotherhood there led to the desire to assist oppressed Jews throughout the world. In the noblest representative of Anglo-Jewry, Sir Moses Montefiore, the devotion to oppressed Jews was based upon something deeper than a sentiment of humanity,

but in that he was singular, not representative. It needs no argument to prove that, while philanthropy may offer a field for the exercise of the benevolent sentiments, it cannot furnish a basis on which to reconstitute the Commonwealth of Israel. The English Jew wanted to realize his unity with his Jewish brethren wherever placed, but he was restricted to a principle in the light of which there was, properly speaking, neither Jew nor Gentile. The French Jew made a much bolder venture. Crémieux founded the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. The Hebrew name, "The Society 'All Israel are Brethren,'" renders the aims of its founders more faithfully. Their purpose was not simply benevolence, but to create an instrument for the defence and assertion of Jewish rights wherever threatened or denied. It was, in essence, to replace the lost Commonwealth of Israel, which rested on the moral, spiritual, and intellectual unity of Israel, by the unity of political machinery. These ideas were not so clearly formulated as this in the minds of Crémieux and his friends, whose thought, rendered bold by the universal ideas of the Revolution of which they were the bearers, was rendered timid by the French or other patriotism with which they were identified. In point of fact, it was an impracticable scheme. It proposed to set up something like the outlines of an international Jewish State, while steadily pursuing the assimilation of every community of Israel to the nation in which it was planted. There was to be mechanical unity without, resting upon disintegration within. There was to be organization for common action against the external foe issuing out of internal diversity and conflict. Obviously the utmost of a positive kind which a society like the *Alliance* could achieve was philanthropy, spasmodic protest against the oppression of Jews. On the other hand, the magnificence of its pretensions might easily suggest to the Gentile world—a Gentile world curiously romantic in its estimate of Jewry—that a new International, not less insidious than the black International

of the Papacy and the red International of Socialism, had come into being. Such suspicions might have been suffered with composure had the power been proportionate to the dream, but few fears have been more harassing to a certain type of Jew than the dread of Jewry's being conceived as an independent force. These fears were fortified by the difficulty of reconciling the Crémieux dream with that full and absolute surrender of Jewish nationalism which emancipation philosophy dictated. The *Alliance Israélite*, therefore, never became more than a philanthropic organization chiefly interested in the foundation and support of Jewish schools in the Mohammedan world. After the war of 1870, when a great number of French Jews were cut off from France by the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, and the remainder tended to develop an extreme French chauvinism, the *Alliance* degenerated into an instrument for furthering French policy in North Africa and the Near East—a melancholy end to a rather fine project.

In Germany the same instinct was working beneath the surface of consciousness to revive in some form or other the shattered unity of Israel. Moses Hess, who in his *Rom und Jerusalem* (1862) criticized fearlessly the accepted ideas of German Jewry, adumbrated a nationalist philosophy of Judaism and advocated the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine, is a striking example; but he stands alone. Germany is also the home of the first attempt at a Jewish newspaper embracing all Jewry. The title of this newspaper, the *Universal Journal of Judaism*, indicates that it went beyond the limits of Germany, and looked upon Judaism and Jewry as one. But the *Journal* was too intimately connected with the propagation of reform views most antipathetic to the mass of the Jews; the German Jews were unfitted for the leadership which they were trying to assume; and, in any case, the Commonwealth of Israel could not be constructed on a newspaper, although newspapers might be created by the Commonwealth of Israel.

A far more interesting venture was the endeavour to find a common platform for all Jews in Reform Judaism. German Reform claimed to be the adaptation of Judaism to the spirit of the age, to have reconciled Western education with the ancient cult, to have released Judaism from the fetters of superstition.

Why should not all Jews recover their spiritual unity through Reform Judaism? There were a variety of reasons why they could not and did not: German Reform was an adaptation of Judaism, not to the spirit of the age, but to the spirit of Germany; and things were different in other countries. Again, the process of adaptation consisted, in the main, of eliminating from Judaism every specifically Jewish quality. Many strange feats are possible, but to reunite Jewry by dejudaizing Judaism is, happily, an idle fantasy. This not very recondite truth was appreciated by the better minds in Germany, and we may explain the invention of *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, the Science of Judaism, as the unconscious striving to restore to German-Jewish culture some Jewish character, and so render to it the power of appealing to Catholic Jewry. *Jüdische Wissenschaft* is the scientific investigation of the Jewish past. Unquestionably historical research and the popularization of history have been factors not to be despised in the national revival of many peoples; but always on one condition—that they are inspired by the desire to stimulate a national revival. When such a task is conducted with the cold detachment of a chemist analyzing a compound—when, in short, it treats the subject-matter as both remote and dead, then it may satisfy the curiosity of individuals, but it will not bring a scattered people together. *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, invented and pursued by men who, with few exceptions, denied Jewish nationality, was doomed to sterility. It has accumulated a considerable apparatus of facts, which national historians may shape into inspiring works of art, but it has not given, because it could not give, the Jewish people what they lacked.



We have seen various experiments at restoring the Commonwealth of Israel, the fumbling of blind men in a labyrinth. Each of these bore the stamp of the country of its origin—in England, limited, immediate, opportunist, and unphilosophic; in France, generous, grandiose, but mechanical and superficial; in Germany, naïve faith in *Kultur*, the printed word, learning. The bold, clear-sighted, and adequate answer to the questionings of a people was to come from Russia, where all the conditions for evolving it existed. But before discussing the origin and nature of that answer, something must be said of the condition of the Jewish people when the answer was given. The achievement of Jewish emancipation in the Western World was promptly followed by an explosion of anti-Semitism, which, with fluctuating violence, has endured to this day. Of anti-Semitism in Russia something will be said when the fortunes of the Russian Jews come to be recounted. Western anti-Semitism is not an importation from Russia. As a system of pseudo-philosophy it took its rise in Germany. Ever since the days of Frederick the Great anti-Semitism has been an article of Prussian State policy. The new Germany after 1815 had been built up on two principles—Teutonism and Christianity—difficult, perhaps, to reconcile with one another, but each having an edge capable of being turned against the Jews. So long as Liberalism was a force in German public life their edge was in some measure dulled, but Liberalism had been failing since the accession of Bismarck to power, and the rise of the Empire pronounced its doom. Naturally the first victims were the Jews. Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* suggested to the baser members of the Roman Catholic party an assault on the Jews as a diversion. German Liberals were among the staunchest supporters of Bismarck's anti-Church policy, and several distinguished Liberal leaders were Jews. As a matter of fact, most of the Jewish deputies carefully refrained from taking any part in Bismarck's campaign, but

what was more convenient than to denounce the *Kulturkampf* as a Jewish stratagem? Very quickly the anti-Semitic cry was taken up by the Protestant-Junker party, and as Socialism made strides, Bismarck came to see the utility of "anti-Semitism, the Socialism of the blockheads," as a counter-irritant to Social Democracy. In the end anti-Semitism made easier the way to Canossa, and to peace between the Roman Catholic Church and the German Empire.

Since then anti-Semitism has been deeply rooted in German public life, administration, and thought. Its presentation has varied from time to time, the warmth of its patronage by the State has fluctuated, its open and avowed political representation in the Reichstag has ebbed and flowed; but as a force it has never declined. Commissioned rank in the army, the Civil Service, academic office, have been in Prussia steadfastly closed to the Jew who would not undergo baptism, and an extensive social boycott has been directed against him. Meanwhile, in science and letters and art, in commerce and finance, the German Jew was conquering an influence which had the double effect of accentuating the bitterness of the anti-Semite and removing the successful Jew still farther from Jewish traditions and Jewish sympathies.

A decade or two later anti-Semitism found a home in France. Although French anti-Semites borrowed some of their argumentation from their German colleagues, it would, perhaps, hardly be correct to say that they imported anti-Semitism itself. As in Germany, it was originated by the camp-followers of the Roman Catholic Church, but the Protestants and the *Libres Penseurs* never copied it. It remained identified with clericalism. Nor was it encouraged by the State. On the contrary, it was associated with a conspiracy against the Republican form of the State. Its influence was chiefly social and literary. From Germany anti-Semitism passed to Austria. Here, again, it was under the patronage of religion; here, again, it was advocated and practised by a powerful

political party, and found expression in legislation and administration. But in the loosely-jointed Austrian State it was necessarily a weaker force than in Prussia.

Upon the German Jew of the old school who had fought for emancipation anti-Semitism came as the collapse of his system of life. Riesser had written:

“Einen Vater in den Höhen  
Eine Mutter haben wir.  
Gott, ihn, aller Wesen Vater,  
Deutschland unsere Mutter hier,”

and now Auerbach was forced to write: “Vergebens gelebt und gearbeitet.” Individuals might take the blow differently. The great mass might still go on content with their material prosperity, and not seriously disturbed in the peace of their souls. A not inconsiderable minority might see in anti-Semitism the final argument for shaking off a Judaism which had no interest for them and hampered the pursuit of a career. A certain number, belonging in nearly all cases to the younger generation, were set to question the principles on which German emancipation rested. In France the ferment was slighter, because the microbe was less powerful. French Jewry persisted in its indifference, and the anti-Semitic movement in France is chiefly notable because it launched an Austrian Jew of Paris, Theodor Herzl, upon his remarkable course. It might have been otherwise but for the war of 1870-71, which cut off Alsace-Lorraine and confirmed French Jewry in chauvinism; and history will not repeat itself in the early future, for immigration has of recent years brought to France a considerable body of Russian Jews. On Austrian Jewry the effect of anti-Semitism was not unlike its effect in Germany, with certain differences. Assimilation had at no time gone so far, and the backbone of Austrian Jewry was a proletariat faithful to Jewish tradition, not, as in Germany, a bourgeoisie peculiarly susceptible to imitation and assimilation.

But the great and unquestionable moral of anti-

Semitism was the bankruptcy of the emancipation philosophy. The world of fact, that external world of Gentile society to fit in with which was its one *raison d'être*, repudiated it. Jewry, whether or not it knew its malady or desired a remedy, was sick for an idea and an ideal. They were to come from Russia, from precisely those Jews whom it was the fashion in the West to look down upon as unfortunates and inferiors, natural objects for patronage or pity.

It has been shown how all the changes, political and social and moral, in the West not only broke up the Commonwealth of Israel, but reduced the Jews of Russo-Poland from the community of greatest dignity and influence to the community of least dignity and influence in Israel. The attitude of the Russian Government towards the Jews was marked by that capricious variability which is its characteristic, until thirty years ago it froze into solid, relentless hostility. Alexander I. began by measures intended to break down all distinctions between Jew and Gentile. He opened the schools and Universities to the Jews, he tried to settle Jews on the land, and he held out hopes of full emancipation when the process of preparation and education was completed. In his later years his cordiality faded, and in any case most of his measures were twisted out of recognition by a corrupt and tyrannical bureaucracy. His successor, Nicholas I., had the outlook of a bigoted drill-sergeant. The vices of his predecessor's method were a failure to understand that freedom is the best school of freedom, and a disposition to demand immediate results. Nicholas I. inherited these faults, and added others. He thought it practicable to combine patronage with persecution, education with bribes to conversion. Mass expulsions, school projects, a janissary system directed against the Jews, land settlements, contractions of the Pale—all were mixed in a chaos which made the reign of Nicholas I. a hideous nightmare. Alexander II. pursued a more liberal policy, but once again, before time was allowed for the gradual evolution of results, plans

changed, and when Alexander III. came to the throne, persecution, tempered by massacre, became, and has since remained, the fixed system. The Jews have been driven from the countryside and cooped up in the towns of the Pale, all public service has been barred to them, education has been denied, and they have been surrendered to the caprice of a corrupt bureaucracy and a bloodthirsty mob.

The spiritual history of the Russian Jews during these years of bitterness has been in triumphant contrast with their political fortunes. It has been repeatedly pointed out that Russian Jewry enjoyed the hegemony of the Commonwealth of Israel. Solomon Maimon wrote of his countrymen after years of estrangement and of mingling with the pride of Western Jewry: "The Polish Jews, who have always been allowed to adopt any means of gain, and have not, like the Jews of other countries, been restricted to the pitiful occupation of Shacher or usury, seldom bear the reproach of cheating. They remain loyal to the country in which they live, and support themselves in an honourable way. The majority of the Polish Jews consists of scholars—that is, men devoted to an inactive and contemplative life; for every Polish Jew is destined from his birth to be a Rabbi, and only the greatest incapacity can exclude him from the office." This sentiment of tradition and aristocracy will in part explain the failure of emancipation doctrines and philosophy to exercise an appreciable influence on the Russian Jews. The Berlin movement associated with the name of Mendelssohn attracted individuals, and had something to do with the origin of the *Maskilim*, a school of illuminati who, in their zeal for Western culture, were inclined to tear up by the roots the accumulated Jewish tradition. But the Berlin movement suffered the misfortune in Russia of enjoying the patronage of a Government openly pursuing conversionist propaganda by the crudest machinery of bribery. That was sufficient to destroy its prestige. The Russian *Maskilim*, again, differed in many ways from their

Western confrères. They were self-taught, not bred in Western schools and Universities, and the foundation of their education was the traditional Hebrew system. Their first awakening usually came from the furtive reading of Maimonides' "Guide to the Perplexed," and they made their propaganda largely through Hebrew. The *Maskilim* were often violent in expression and superficial in thought, and their influence was not only to widen the Jewish outlook and liberate the Jewish mind, but also to overthrow the traditional Jewish system in education and life. Many of them stood for assimilation no less than the Western *Maskilim*, but they were not strong enough to affect the life of the masses appreciably. The later *Maskilim* achieved a notable and useful work in the revival and strengthening of Hebrew as a living tongue.

The persistence of a specifically Jewish life in Russia was aided by the political conditions of the country. Russian policy dallied spasmodically with the idea of a homogeneous Russia, until in our own time it took to pursuing it with consistent rigour; but in point of fact the character of the country, and particularly of that part in which the Jews were congregated, made the idea absurd, while the repressive measures of the Government (directed with singular force against the Jews) repudiated it. Nor could the Russian Jew discover in the Russian Gentile and in Russian society a type and a civilization so manifestly superior to his own as to tempt him to assimilation. A French Jew who accompanied the Grand Army found that "the Jews in Russian Poland, although oppressed by the Government, in truth alone possess a healthy human intelligence." The conviction of his superiority to the Gentile had bitten into the soul of the Russian Jew, and it represented the facts.

The very mass of Russian Jewry undoubtedly assisted in its preservation, and the maintenance of the Jewish communal organization administering the Jewish code worked to the same end. Yet when due weight is given to material or mechanical factors, the

traditional Jewish educational system must be accounted as more important than all others, and that itself was but an expression of a strong Jewish consciousness. It would be no compliment to Russian Jewry to say that it was a stagnant pool unmoved by the winds and tides of the century. It was strong enough to absorb alien elements and give them a Jewish quality; it presented to the world a new type of Jew—the Jew initiated into Western culture, but based upon Jewish culture and penetrated with the Jewish spirit. In such a *milieu* the divorce between the Jewish nation and the Jewish cult was unthinkable. The cramping influences of the Ghetto and the bitterness of persecution were felt; but the angle from which problems were surveyed tended to be that of the Commonwealth of Israel rather than of the individual Jew. While in the West men were thinking in terms of Jews, in Russia they were thinking in terms of Jewry and Judaism. The best minds among the Russian Jews had discovered that there are things worse than persecution, and that emancipation, if it is the end of one problem, is the beginning of another. This has nowhere been expressed with more insight and cogency than by Achad ha'Am, and one may quote the concluding passage of an essay in which he anatomizes the glories of the Western Jews, and discovers them to be but slavery in freedom:

“To-day, while I am still alive, I try, mayhap, to give my weary eyes a rest from the scene of ignorance, of degradation, of unutterable poverty that confronts me here in Russia, and find comfort by looking across the border, where there are Jewish professors, Jewish members of academies, Jewish officers in the army, Jewish civil servants; and when I see there, behind the glory and the grandeur of it all, a twofold spiritual slavery—moral slavery and intellectual slavery—and ask myself, Do I envy these fellow-Jews of mine their emancipation? I answer in all truth and sincerity, No! a thousand times no! The privileges are not worth the price! I may not be emancipated; but at

least I have not sold my soul for emancipation. I at least can proclaim from the housetops that my kith and kin are dear to me wherever they are, without being constrained to find forced and unsatisfactory excuses. I at least can remember Jerusalem, mourn for its loss in public or in private, without being asked what Zion is to me or I to Zion. I at least have no need to exalt my people to Heaven, to trumpet forth its superiority above all other nations, in order to find a justification for its existence. I at least know 'why I remain a Jew'—or, rather, I can find no meaning in such a question, any more than if I were asked why I am my father's son. I at least can speak my mind concerning the beliefs and the opinions which I have inherited from my ancestors, without fearing to snap the bond that unites me to my people. I can even adopt that 'scientific heresy which goes by the name of Darwin' without any danger to my Judaism. In a word, I am my own, and my opinions and feelings are my own. I have no reason for concealing or denying them, for deceiving others or myself. And this spiritual freedom—scuff who will!—I would not exchange or barter for all the emancipation in the world."

It is often said that the massacres and persecutions of 1880-81 were a turning-point in Russo-Jewish thought, but all that they effected was the crystallization and clarification of ideas. Jewish nationalism, Zionism, was the expression of the conflict of the Jewish spirit and the Jewish will to live (maintained at their height in Russian Jewry) with their environment. The Jewish people desired to live—not simply to survive, but to work out their destiny and make the specific contribution of the Jewish genius and the Jewish *Weltanschauung* to the sum of humanity's achievement. Emancipation-assimilation offered no hope of such a life, for it was in essence the negation of any possibility and the surrender of any desire that Jews and Judaism should play their part in civilization. Reform, philanthropy, *Jüdische Wis-*



*senschaft*, were alike irrelevancies. Nor was a retreat to the Ghetto either feasible or desirable. The Ghetto belonged to medieval, not to modern, politics, and the Ghetto at best was cramped and torturing. It had kept alive the tradition of Judaism, but it had exhausted its power of expansion, and its tyrannic discipline and its exclusiveness could not and should not be revived. It was not for Judaism to fly from the world like a monk, but to re-create the world in its own image; not to repel what science and art offered, but to render them in its own terms. How was this to be effected? The answer which Zionism gave, as interpreted by the best minds of Russian Jewry, was: through Hebrew and through Palestine. A people's language is its life-blood. Hebrew was to become once more not simply the language of worship, but the language of education and of speech and of all the relations of human life. Hebrew literature and Hebrew thought were to resume their proper place in the disciplining of the mind. But Hebrew culture must be an artificial plant of precarious health unless it is rooted in congenial soil. The one congenial soil is Palestine, the motherland of the Hebrew spirit, identified with it by history and by two thousand years of unquenched longing and unfailing hope. In its ancient home and in intimate contact with the soil the Jewish spirit will recover the freedom and the space for expansion and creation.

It is not conceived by Zionism that all or even the majority of the Jews of the Diaspora will return to Palestine. It will suffice if enough return to bring into being a Jewish centre there. This Jewish centre will claim no political allegiance from the Jews beyond its borders. That would be absurd. Nor will it offer healing for the social and economic ills of all Israel; these, so far as they are to be healed, must depend on the general evolution of ideas. A Jewish Palestine will play its part by vindicating the worth of Judaism against prejudice, and by its general co-operation in

raising the level of human thought and emotion. The influence of Palestine upon Jews outside of Palestine will be spiritual. There Judaism and the Jew will be presented in the most perfect form by the one purely Jewish society. Those Jews who accept its example and its authority in the region of ideas will accept it voluntarily and without constraint. This hegemony of Palestine will be strictly spiritual and intellectual. If it be asked, How can any State admit variety of culture within its borders? the answer is that the devastation which is now upon the world arises from a failure to do so, and if the refusal be persisted in civilization is bankrupt. It will be one of the services of Zionism to give a wider and deeper rendering to nationalism, purging it of the grossness of intolerance, narrowness, arrogance, and aggression, which have made men doubt whether nationalism be not a scourge rather than a blessing. In this way Zionism, through Palestine, will restore the shattered Commonwealth of Israel—restore it not in the teeth of fact nor by lodging Judaism in a prison, but by taking full account of realities and rendering to the Jewish spirit genuine freedom. Nor is this a vision or a dream. Even now it is being achieved. That it is being achieved is largely due to Theodor Herzl. It is one of the ironic strokes of history that a Jew, by training and manner of life detached from his people and quite ignorant of the tide of thought and feeling that was pulsing through Russian Jewry, should have been the instrument for bringing the message and the teaching of the Russian Jew to the Jew of the West. As is not seldom the case with great men, he taught more than he knew. He possessed, along with something of the temper of a prophet, no little of the talent of a statesman. It was he who endowed Zionism with its organization, and fashioned for it the weapons which have carried its appeal into every corner of the Jewish world, and have worked mightily for Judaism in Palestine.

## ANTI-SEMITISM

BY ALBERT M. HYAMSON

**ANTI-SEMITISM**—the prejudice against the Jewish race, a pseudo-scientific movement—as distinct from anti-Judaism—the prejudice against the Jewish religion, a movement rooted in religion or superstition—is essentially a modern phenomenon. Not that anti-Judaism is extinct in Europe, or that previous to the seventies of last century prejudice against the Jewish race was unknown; but until the French Revolution all symptoms and manifestations of anti-Semitism were lost and submerged in the vastness of anti-Judaism, while in the nineteenth century prejudice against the Jewish race occupied the greater part of the field. These are generalizations, but generalizations that are justified. For instance, the era of Liberalism has not yet passed beyond the western boundaries of Russia and Roumania; in the remainder of Europe there was, until late in the nineteenth century, to be found an occasional enclave of prejudice such as the Papal Dominions; in one or two countries—Spain, for example—there were no Jews, and consequently no opportunities for either practical anti-Judaism or practical anti-Semitism.

Anti-Judaism—which has always included some of the elements of anti-Semitism—is as old as the Diaspora. By the uneducated mass of Christians their Jewish contemporaries have always been held directly responsible for the tragedy in which the life of Jesus culminates. The Jew in Europe has always been the stranger, different from his environment. In Feudal Europe this difference was accentuated by the atomic medieval polity. In the medieval European State,

founded on a Christian basis, the Jew was a class by himself, detached from the land, and not naturalized in the city. The only means of providing for him was to make him the private property of the King or of one of the nobles. This may be said generally to have been the status of the Jew in medieval Christian Europe. Under the Moslems in Spain, the Jews held a far more favourable situation, and even after the Christian conquest their status was not assimilated to that of their co-religionists in other parts of Europe, for the non-Christian element in the population was too large thus to be treated. Generally speaking, however, the lives and fortunes of the Jews depended directly on the power and good-will of their royal or noble masters and protectors. The people of all classes—under priestly inspiration—were at most times anxious to avenge the Crucifixion, and incidentally to enrich themselves with the property of the Jews. As a rule this ambition was kept under restraint. The most terrible occasion on which it gained the upper hand was that of the First Crusade, when the march of the soldiers of Christ across Europe was marked by a river of Jewish blood flowing through a series of burning Ghettos.

The Renaissance, and the consequent appreciation of the scholarship of the Jews, of the lamp of learning which had been kept burning by them throughout the darkest of the Middle Ages; the expansion of international travel and commerce; the Reformation, which destroyed the spiritual monopoly of the one faith and made Nonconformity a familiar phenomenon, no longer confined entirely to Jews—all these tended to effect a considerable improvement in the status of the Jews of Europe. These changes were responsible for the rise of the middle class, to which the Jews naturally belonged. Socially, therefore, they were no longer quite the anomaly which they had previously been. The Ghetto system, however, still remained, even though the badge had been abolished, and anti-Jewish preju-

dice was still sufficiently strong and prevalent to make the condition of the Jews one of anxiety dashed far too strongly with misery.

The French Revolution, wherever its influence spread, broke down the walls of the Ghetto. With the passing of Napoleon they were in a few instances re-erected, and the old system lingered on in a few cities for years, but the opening of the nineteenth century may be said to mark its end. The era of emancipation opened for Jewry. The Jews came out of their ghettos, and entered into the life of the nations with whom they dwelt. The Mendelssohn movement in Germany, which, save the Polish and Russian provinces, held the largest Jewish community in Europe, had already been engaged in preparing the Jews for their new life. For the first time in history Jews became Germans, or Frenchmen, or Poles, or Englishmen, and were no longer merely Jews. And as a first-fruit of the new policy Jewry gave to the world that wonderful generation which included Heine, Börne, Auerbach, Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Valentin, Gans, Neander, and Heinrich and Karl Jacobi in Germany; Disraeli, Sylvester, and Ricardo in England; and the Derenbours, Fould, Crémieux, Goudchaux, and the Halévys in France. To a facile optimist it might seem, indeed, that the march of civilization had finally destroyed anti-Jewish prejudice.

Pseudo-philosophic anti-Semitism, the new form assumed by the prejudice, took shape first in Germany. This is, however, in part due to the fact that Germany, including Austria—and in Jewish history in general all the German States must be considered together—was the one modernized State which contained an appreciable proportion of Jewish inhabitants. In the other European States of the West, England, France, Italy, Holland, and Belgium, the proportion of Jews is, and has always been, small. In the Scandinavian countries, in Finland, Spain, and Portugal, there are for practical purposes no Jews. In the East, the Jews

of Poland had by the final division passed under the rule of Russia and Austria. In the former of these Empires a system not far removed from that of the Ghetto of the Middle Ages is still in force. Among the Jews of Austrian Poland, although all civil and political disabilities have long since disappeared and the material walls of the Ghetto have been overthrown, time and external influences have not yet succeeded in destroying the spiritual walls. In the German Empires anti-Semitism had the most favourable opportunity of developing, of spreading, and of exercising influence. Of all the States of Europe, none offered a better stage for the struggle between the modern Jew and the modern Gentile.

It is, of course, not suggested that anti-Semitism sprang into existence fully armed one day in the seventies of last century. The forces which culminated in the anti-Semitic movement had been growing and moving and blindly groping their way forward for centuries. Hitherto they had been indefinite, inchoate, instinctive. Whenever anti-Jewish prejudice came to a head, all other feelings were submerged by the religious one. It was in the name of Christ that the Jewries were laid waste and their inhabitants put to the sword, and the avengers of Jesus were generally sincere in their belief that the atrocities they committed were all to the greater glory of God. Religion was, however, not the only motive for the massacres. The others existed, even if unseen. There was the dislike of the stranger, who was not only strange but incomprehensible—and the Jew cooped up in his Ghetto was necessarily a stranger to his neighbour—natural to the man devoid of that education, that broadening of the mind and consequent eradication of prejudices, which travel alone can give: there was that jealousy of the more intelligent and therefore more capable—and in medieval Jewry every boy, as a matter of course, underwent an education whose result was always a sharpening of the mind—to be expected of the ignorant.

There was the hatred of debtor—the moral as well as the material debtor—for the creditor, of the merchant by the agriculturist whose produce the former buys; of the peripatetic pedlar by the peasant who easily passes into his debt.

One of the consequences of the German national movement which culminated in the creation of the German Empire, anti-Semitism was announced by an explosion on the morrow of that event, and also of the day on which the last vestiges of the old anti-Jewish system in Western Europe had been swept away by the incorporation of the city of Rome in the kingdom of Italy. During the first year or two of the new German Empire the possibility of any anti-Jewish discrimination seemed inconceivable. The services which the Jews of Germany had rendered to the new Empire should have made that Empire their debtor for all time. The Jews Eduard Lasker and Ludwig Bamberger had played a leading part in creating in 1866 the National Liberal party, which included the great majority of the Jews of Germany among its supporters, and with whose assistance Bismarck had been able to weld the German States into an Empire. On the other hand, in 1869 the North German Confederation had finally removed the bar of religious belief to full civil and political liberty. In 1871 the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the organ of the Junker class, the extreme Conservative party which is in no country sympathetic to freedom whether in the case of Jews or other classes of the population, went so far from the Pan-German ideal as to declare the Jews of Alsace to be the Jewish branch of the German nation. Meanwhile, however, the spirit of chauvinist nationalism was spreading in Germany, and this spirit, wherever aroused, has, throughout history, tended to treat the Jews as an enemy. The tide which, gathering force as it progressed, ultimately developed into the anti-Semitic campaign was started, unintentionally of course, by the Jewish leaders of the National Liberal party. The events of 1870 and 1871,

accompanied by the huge indemnity which Germany obtained as the price of peace, led to an orgy of speculative finance. Lasker and Bamberger clearly foresaw the consequences to which the multiplication of bubble enterprises must inevitably lead. The prominent participation of a few fellow-Jews in the speculations did not deter them from their duty, and in both Parliament and the press they did not hesitate to denounce the course that was being pursued, and to emphasize the dangers of the situation. The catastrophe which they foretold befell in the late spring of 1873, and widespread disaster ensued. The presence of Jews among those who were held responsible for the misfortunes provided a ready scapegoat, and the anti-Semitic campaign was soon in full swing.

The literary sponsor of the new movement was an obscure writer, Wilhelm Marr, who had as early as eleven years previously published a stillborn anti-Jewish pamphlet. In 1873 he reappeared with "Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum," a production in which he succeeded in harnessing the young and lusty nationalism to the chariot-pole of still younger anti-Semitism. In support of his thesis he called to his aid the powerful influence of Hegel, whose theory that a nation must consist of units not only speaking one language, but also of one racial origin, he adapted to his purpose. The new movement was welcomed by the enemies of the National Liberal party and of the class—the bourgeoisie—which it represented, for in this party and class were comprised the majority of the Jews of the Empire. The Agrarian party, which had suffered defeat in the recent past, eagerly seized the opportunity for revenge, and the Jew was the easiest enemy to attack. The Clericals, throughout history tainted with anti-Jewish prejudice, seeing the opportunity of beating both Liberal and Jew with one stick, joined in with avidity. The new movement was reinforced by the philosophy of Schopenhauer, which at that time had a great hold on the



German mind. The teachings of Schopenhauer, the philosopher of pessimism, are the very antithesis to those of Judaism, the religion of hope. They are thus in effect a sort of anti-Semitic philosophy, and to those who may have felt doubt as to his attitude towards the newly arisen problem there were presented definite and unmistakable anti-Jewish statements on his part. This spirit of anti-Judaism was, in fact, permeating German thought at that time. The influence of Feuerbach, Arnold Ruge, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, Eugen Karl Dühring, was all on the same side. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, the disciple of Schopenhauer, a thinker on a very different plane, also, on occasion, included Jews and Judaism among the very many other objects of his onslaughts. Marr's lead was soon followed by other pamphleteers, and the Jews, on their part, did not hesitate to take up the pen in reply to their traducers. Germany was speedily swept from end to end by an anti-Semite agitation. Nevertheless the *Judenhetze*, which was by now fully fledged, remained still for some years but a theoretical movement living on ink and paper, with very occasional intrusions into practical life.

So far as the new movement was political, it was seized on by all the enemies of Liberalism, the party with which the Jews to whom liberty was but a newly found treasure, naturally for the most part identified themselves. The ultra-Conservatives, the Agrarians, and the Clericals quickly made the most of the new cry. At the other extreme the proletariat equally considered the bourgeois party the enemy, and took whatever opportunity the new movement gave them of damaging the cause to which they were opposed. Thus the Jews found both the upper and the lower classes ranged against them. Unfortunately, the class to which they themselves belonged did not give them security. The many scattered influences which had in the past, before the age of anti-Semitism, made Jews unpopular, were not without effect among the bour-

geois. Pan-Germanism also had many adherents in the middle as in the other classes in Germany. Above all, the envy and jealousy which success always inspires were not absent from the contemporaries and colleagues of the Jews of modern Germany, and envy of the individual Jew always develops rapidly into hostility to the Jewish race.

Such in brief was the position which the Jewish question had reached in Germany by the year 1879. In this year, for some apparently unaccountable reason, anti-Semitism passed suddenly from the academic to the practical sphere, and almost without warning an anti-Semitic passion swept the Empire from frontier to frontier. Although the cause was then obscure, at this distance of time it appears more clearly. Hitherto in politics Bismarck had been dependent on the National Liberals. They had supported him throughout the *Kulturkampf*, and had, as a consequence, brought down upon themselves—that is, on the Jews—the undying wrath of the Roman Catholics who afterwards formed the powerful Centre Party. In 1877, however, a cleft showed itself between the Chancellor and his supporters. Lasker and Bamberger, who were still at the head of the latter, had studied the English system of constitutional government in practice, and were anxious to introduce it into Germany. This policy did not, however, meet with the approval of Bismarck, to whom the Liberals were no longer a necessity. The Chancellor found support among the Conservatives and the Centre. The National Liberals passed into opposition, and became the object of hostility. The destruction of the party was now Bismarck's aim. For this purpose the means were ready to hand, and he did not hesitate to make use of them. Bismarck has been described as an anti-Semite, and has said of himself that he was one by birth; but he had early passed beyond this stage. His anti-Semitism of the last decades of the nineteenth century was merely political opportunism. As soon as it had served its purpose, as soon as the National Liberal

party had been broken and emptied of its Liberalism, Bismarck gave the agitation no further encouragement.

The most important undisguised recruit whom the movement obtained at this period was the historian Treitschke. A great contemporary who had considerable influence on the movement was Count Gobineau, who, although a Frenchman, was, like his colleagues, in everything a Pan-German, and in influence Gobineau was probably the greatest of all the leaders of Pan-German thought. Yet Gobineau's anti-Semitism was on a much higher spiritual level than the anti-Semitism of his contemporaries. The working leader of the movement was the Court Chaplain, Adolf Stöcker, who was also a prominent member of the Prussian Diet, where he gave his support to Bismarck. He founded the Christian Social Working Men's Union, an organization with a definitely anti-Semitic platform. By the Conservatives the new party was encouraged and patronized for several reasons. In the first place its members were valuable allies in the war against Liberalism and the bourgeoisie. It also tended to split the democracy, to counteract the growing powers of Socialism, and thus to render the people innocuous so far as the upper classes were concerned. Lutherans vied with Catholics in their encouragement of the new party, each afraid that the other would get the monopoly of its support. Under the direction of Stöcker and his followers a wave of anti-Semitism swept over Germany. Measures of oppression were proposed in Parliament: Jews were attacked in the streets; anti-Jewish riots occurred; a campaign of boycott was organized; the earlier press campaign of insult and slander doubled and trebled in its intensity. The Jews naturally defended themselves in Parliament, in the press, and on the duelling-ground, but other defenders were not wanting. Most of the German men of letters and of science denounced the agitation as not only unjust to the Jews, but a blot on German culture and a danger to German unity. The

Crown Prince, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, described it as "a shame and a disgrace to Germany." The elections of 1881 gave the party an opportunity for gaining a footing in the Reichstag, but the opportunity did not lead to much success. Stöcker himself was elected, but practically without a following; for the Conservatives hesitated to identify themselves openly and formally with a party which, although anti-Semitic and Imperial, was also Socialistic.

The first serious blow that the movement suffered came from across the eastern frontier. The Russian massacres of the Jews of 1881 caused a thrill of horror to pass through civilization. In Germany they opened the eyes of some of those who had patronized the anti-Semitic movement to its true meaning and its logical consequences. A reaction set in. A political movement based on a coalition of parties, by their nature divided from one another on all questions but one, was inevitably of a temporary character. The doctrines of Marr and Treitschke had already been to a great extent abandoned by the new leaders, who were politicians, not philosophers. The tendency of an extreme party to divorce Christianity from Judaism and from its product, the Old Testament, to claim that Jesus was not a Jew, and even to attack Christianity on account of its Jewish origin, shocked the consciences of those into whom the virus had not too deeply entered. These forces led to a definite split and to the organization of two distinct parties in 1881. A reunion was effected five years later, but by the summer of 1889 a new secession had taken place.

If political anti-Semitism had by these disputes and divisions been rendered almost innocuous, the evil which it had wrought did not lose its vigour. The anti-Jewish hate which Stöcker and his predecessors had been teaching for years had by now permeated large sections of the working classes. The ignorance which is always prevalent in these strata of society afforded a fertile soil for the seed which fell upon it.

The leadership of the movement passed to Hermann Ahlwardt, a violent agitator and demagogue of notorious associations. Under his inspiration the proletariat was inflamed against the Jews. Anti-Jewish riots broke out and found many victims. At Neustettin the synagogue was burnt; at Xanten, near the Dutch frontier, the Jewish community was accused of ritual murder, and one of its members was formally charged with the offence. His acquittal had no effect in restraining the passions of the people, although the more educated were appalled at the barbarism to which the disciples of Treitschke and Gobineau had descended.

Bismarck had in the meanwhile passed into retirement. His successor Caprivi had shown himself out of sympathy with the Conservatives, and they, looking around for allies, took Ahlwardt, who, unlike Stöcker, could not be suspected of Socialism, into a limited partnership. The Conservatives, on their part, formally adopted as planks of the party platform the denunciation of "the oppressive and disintegrating Jewish influence on our national life," and the cry of a Christian magistracy for a Christian people and Christian teachers for Christian pupils. The excesses of anti-Semitism were at the same time repudiated, but this was merely a pious resolution, and in force for but a few days. Within a week another meeting of the Conservative party, at which the repudiation was cancelled was held. Immediately afterwards Ahlwardt was elected to the Reichstag by a Conservative constituency. This self-degradation of the Conservatives earned the reprobation of all the best elements in German public life. Even Stöcker protested against Ahlwardtism, which he denounced as "disreputable." The excesses of Ahlwardt in the Reichstag, and his failure when challenged to substantiate his slanders, practically destroyed all the influence which he had gained over the Conservative party. With the masses, however, he remained a hero for some time

longer. At the General Elections of 1893 he was returned with fifteen colleagues, in some instances in direct opposition to his former allies. But the party was practically isolated. The alliance with the Conservatives had already been dissolved. In the course of the next few years the anti-Semitic cause suffered severely from financial scandals in which several of its leaders were involved; from the fall of Stöcker, followed by the Imperial denunciation of Christian Socialism; and from the revolt of the Roman Catholics, who had hitherto sympathized with it. Its fortunes revived temporarily in the first few years of the present century, but the revival was due more to the wave of nationalism and imperialism which permeated Germany at that time, than to any other cause. The anti-Semitic party in Germany has survived in name until the present day, although numerically, as well as in influence, it is and has long been insignificant.

Outside of Parliament, however, the prejudice is by no means extinct. In the eyes of the law there is in Germany no difference between Jew and non-Jew. In practice, however, there is a considerable difference. Apart from the social prejudice which is inherent in certain classes of the population of all countries, the Jews of Germany labour under very definite disabilities which have not the force of law. For instance, outside of Bavaria until this war no Jew had held a commission in the German army. Again, for a professing Jew to obtain admission into the judicial or civil service of the Empire is practically impossible, while it is almost as difficult to attain to the position of Ordinary Professor. Even the world-renowned scientist, Ehrlich, encountered these difficulties, and it is notorious that Herr Albert Ballin, one of Germany's greatest industrialists and statesmen of commerce, has never attained to Cabinet rank merely on account of his refusal to abjure his ancestral faith. Herr Dernburg, Colonial Minister a few years ago, has never been a Jew by religion, and by birth he is only half a Jew.

Nevertheless, despite his great services and value to the State, anti-Semitic prejudice prevailed in driving him from office after but a short tenure.

With the narrative of the rise and development of anti-Semitism in Germany, the story of the movement is practically completed. The anti-Semitism in Austria and Hungary is almost entirely a Teutonic product. The unexpected outburst by which France was stained at the close of last century was a native product, although it drew much of its argumentation from across the Rhine, and the example of the ally, Russia, was not without influence. The development of the movement in the two German Empires shows one great difference, in that in the one Bismarck for his own ends at times gave it secret encouragement and other Ministers more open patronage; in the other, Austro-Hungary, all governments have been consistent in endeavouring to repress all attempts at anti-Jewish discrimination. In fact, the Governments of Austria and Hungary are, and have been for half a century, amongst the freest under which it is the lot of Jews to dwell. But if the Government has been consistently free from anti-Semitism, the same cannot be said of politicians, priests, and people. As early as the seventies German anti-Semitic pamphlets were introduced into and circulated in both Austria and Hungary. In 1880 an attempt was made in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy to organize an anti-Semitic party. The valuable patriotism of the Jews in 1848 was, however, still fresh in the minds of all classes, and the attempt met with failure. None the less, events moved rapidly. Among the Clericals and the ignorant populace, as well as among the aristocracy, anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism was all the time latent. The impetus which had come from Germany, when reinforced by the echoes of the orgy of violence which came from across the Russian frontier, was sufficient to bring the spark of life into the movement in Hungary. In February, 1882, a motion to repeal the law of Jewish emancipa-

tion was proposed in the Hungarian Chamber. Less than two months later the charge of ritual murder was preferred against the Jews of Tisza-Eszlar. In the course of the next two years anti-Jewish excesses were perpetrated in all parts of the kingdom. In 1884 an anti-Semitic party was organized in the Chamber, but it never succeeded in gaining any political influence, and the violence of the movement soon passed away. The last flicker of anti-Semitism in Hungary was on the occasion of the General Election of 1910, when the Roman Catholic clergy enthusiastically adopted the anti-Jewish prejudice, and succeeded in rekindling a little interest in it. In Austria the movement may be said to have risen and fallen with the fortunes of anti-Semitism in Germany. In the early eighties political exigencies compelled the Government to depend on the Clericals and Reactionaries, and, as a consequence, some measures which were anti-Semitic in effect were adopted by the Legislature. A formal anti-Semitic party appeared in 1882 under the direction of Georg von Schönerer, an ambitious millionaire, who had derived his wealth from the good services of members of the Rothschild family. During the succeeding decade the cause of anti-Semitism gradually advanced. It found supporters in many directions, but, as in Germany, many of the most respected elements in the State combined to denounce the agitation. By 1891 members of the party were to be found in most of the legislative assemblies of the Empire, where in some instances their language and proposals equalled in ferocity the worst outbursts of the Jacobins. Vienna had hitherto been a stronghold of Liberalism in Austria, but in 1895 Vienna also capitulated. Lüger, the leader of the Christian Socialists, who had endeavoured to unite all the anti-Semitic parties on the ground that it was unnecessary to argue whether Jews should be shot or hanged, was elected Burgomaster of Vienna. The Emperor repeatedly refused to confirm the election, but the insistence of the Municipal Council ulti-



mately compelled him to give way. The successes of the anti-Semites at the Reichsrath Elections of 1897 led to anti-Jewish outbreaks at several centres. The year 1899 saw the revival of the Blood Accusation at Polna, and a Jew was convicted by a jury of ritual murder. Since that date anti-Semitism has gradually declined in Austria. In doing so, it has followed a natural course, as is shown by the history of Germany and of Hungary, but in Austria the decline of anti-Semitism was much assisted by two factors: the disappointment aroused by the anti-Semitic Government of Vienna, which proved in effect inefficient and corrupt, and the denunciation of Christian Socialism by the Pope in 1901. In 1907 the anti-Semites largely increased their representation in the Reichsrath—although Schönerer was defeated—but this apparent revival was not in reality an improvement in the fortunes of the movement. It was one of the consequences of a temporary political coalition. Four years later the Christian Socialists practically disappeared from Parliament. As elsewhere, social anti-Semitism is rife in certain quarters, but it has never secured anything like the power it has gained in the German Empire. In Austro-Hungary Jews have attained to the highest ranks in both the civil and the military service of the State, and the roll of the army to-day contains the names of several Jewish Generals. In Galicia the large Jewish population has for years suffered severe economic persecution from their neighbours, the Poles, which the Government has endeavoured, but without success, to mitigate.

France was the last State in which anti-Semitism obtained a foothold. To some extent, somewhat paradoxically, the ground was more favourable there than under a monarchical government. In a bourgeois republic the hostility of the anti-bourgeois elements is all the more intense, and in France, as elsewhere, the Jews are essentially a bourgeois class. Moreover, the anti-Semitic movement in Germany had

driven many Jews—scholars and professional men, as well as men of commerce and finance—to take refuge in France. France had its strong reactionary and clerical elements, all by nature anti-Semitic, so that the materials for an anti-Jewish movement were all to hand. The first anti-Jewish movement in France dates only from 1882. In that year Paul Bontoux, a financier who had formerly been in the service of the Rothschilds, but had been compelled to leave it on account of his mania for speculation, and had joined the Orleanist party, established the *Union Générale*, a Roman Catholic and aristocratic financial organization intended to compete with and destroy the alleged monopoly of the Jewish and Protestant financial houses. Bontoux's passion for speculation led to the inevitable consequence—the *Union Générale* failed in January, 1882, involving thousands of all classes in its ruin. Very inconsequentially the Jews were accused by the victims of having engineered the failure. This suggestion was sufficient to make the Jews of France the scapegoat for the speculations of Bontoux.

The anti-Semitic movement thus started remained in the realm of theory for a few years, and beyond a certain amount of annoyance the Jews of France cannot be said to have suffered definitely from it. At the elections of 1885, however, a large number of monarchists were returned, and the following year, either as a coincidence or a consequence, Édouard Drumont published his notorious "La France Juive," one of the bitterest attacks on the Jews ever penned. This work gave a great impetus to the movement, which was, however, still theoretical rather than practical. The Boulangist Movement gathered to itself the anti-Semites in common with all the other disaffected elements in the State. The failure of the Boulangist movement was in part due to the efforts of a Jewish journalist and politician, M. Joseph Reinach. The Orleanists and Clericals and other Boulangists, in their rage and disappointment, attacked, in retaliation, not

only Reinach, but the whole of the race to which he belonged. An anti-Semitic League, with branches in all parts of the country, was quickly formed, and the whole machinery of anti-Semitic charges and arguments was imported from Germany. The Franco-Russian Alliance, effected on the morrow of one of the periodic outbreaks of massacre with which Russo-Jewish history is studded, gave the movement a pseudo-patriotic tinge, which brought many recruits to the standard of Drumont and his friends. The collapse of the Panama Canal Company, in which a few prominent French Jews were involved, still further assisted the movement, for, in accordance with many precedents, the Jew was made the scapegoat. Something in the nature of an anti-Jewish reign of terror ensued, in the course of which the hundreds of Jewish officers in the army were made the objects of attack. Against one of them, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, the charge of treason was brought. Immediately a frenzy of anti-Semitism took possession of the country. The question of the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus was lost in the far larger question of the guilt or innocence of the Jewish race. The anti-Semite agitators shrank from no crime—even murder was attempted—in order to fasten on Dreyfus, and through him on the Jewish race, the crime of treason. Dreyfus, on his part, found many defenders outside of Jewry, as well as within it—notably Colonel Picquart, a colleague of his on the General Staff; Émile Zola, the novelist; Clemenceau; and Yves Guyot. By this time the Jewish question had taken complete possession of French public life. The country was divided between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. The former comprised the Radicals and Socialists—that is, speaking generally, the Republican elements in the country; the latter included in their ranks all the reactionary elements. The Dreyfusards ultimately prevailed, but not until after a very strenuous and protracted fight, in the course of which an organized attempt was made to overturn the Republic. The

defeat of the Reactionaries carried with it far more than the rehabilitation of Dreyfus and the successful defence of the Jews. The power of the Clericals and other reactionaries in France was permanently weakened, and with their defeat anti-Semitism as a living force disappeared from the public sight.

Germany is the land in which the philosophy of anti-Semitism has been studied most deeply, in which the centuries-old prejudice against the Jew has been raised to the dignity of a science or pseudo-science, in which anti-Semitism as a theory has found the widest acceptance. France is the country in which practical anti-Semitism aroused—although for but a brief period—the passions of the people to the highest pitch, and thereby attracted to itself, for the time being, the most undesirable of reputations in the minds of all civilized peoples. Russia, however, is the land which has come to be almost synonymous with anti-Semitism, where onslaughts on the Jews are a matter of ordinary occurrence, where the science of anti-Semitism may be neglected, but where its practice is seldom allowed to flag. It is to Russia that the mind of the reader will turn instinctively when he first comes across the mention of anti-Semitism.

In Russia the persecution of the Jews, which throughout a century and more had been intermittent, increased considerably in intensity at the beginning of the eighties, and has retained its virulence ever since. The Russian peasant, who constitutes the overwhelming proportion of the population of the Empire, is neither anti-Semitic nor cruel by nature. Under proper direction and inspiration, it is probable that the ferocity of which he has sometimes shown himself capable would never display itself. Practically devoid of education in the conventional sense, and living a life immersed in superstition, he is still in a state of childhood, and as a child he is amenable to almost every outside influence that touches him. He is thus a ready tool in the hand of any agitator, especially if that agitator can apparently

call to his aid that form of religion which to the Russian peasant is the greater part of his life. In the Russian industrial centres, as in all industrial centres, there is a considerable "Hooligan" element. As a rule this element is kept under restraint by the Government and the police. In Russia, however, when an anti-Jewish *émeute* is on the tapis, these criminal elements have often been placed at the disposal of the anti-Semites. It will thus be seen that in Russia little or no difficulty is encountered in translating the theories of Marr and Treitschke into practice. The ignorance and the prejudices are utilized in the furtherance of "illegal" anti-Semitism, but in the sufferings of the Jews of Russia this, in reality, plays only a small part. It is kept in restraint to a large extent by the public opinion of Europe, for a massacre of the Jews attracts a great deal of undesirable attention. The agony of Russian Jewry is not to be attributed to an occasional pogrom, but to the organized "legal" anti-Semitism which has deprived the Jew, one after the other, of many of the elementary rights of the civilized human being. Russia in its attitude towards the Jews is in effect still in the Middle Ages. In England the Jews were expelled in 1290. Apart from physical difficulties, which are practically insuperable, and the avowed policy of Pobiedonostseff, the modern Torquemada, who is currently reported to have looked forward to the time when there would no longer be any Jews in Russia—one-third would have emigrated, a second third would have been received into the Orthodox Church, the remainder would be dead—Jews are of too much value to the bureaucracy as a lightning conductor ever to be permitted to leave the country. But of the 6,000,000 Jews of Russia, less than 350,000 are allowed to reside outside of Poland and the Pale of Settlement. Those whose rights of residence are curtailed are not, however, permitted to live where they will in the districts set aside for them. Even there they are limited to the towns. In this manner is the congestion of the

Jewish population artificially created, and the poverty and economic misery which are their necessary concomitants deliberately cultivated. The status of town or village is, however, not fixed by any legislation. It depends, or has in the past in many cases depended, on the whim of some official. As a consequence, the rights of residence of Jews in the Pale have often been curtailed even beyond the apparent intentions of the Government by a sudden decree changing the status of a town into that of a village. More formally, districts have been detached from the Pale of Settlement and their Jewish inhabitants expelled with a short period of grace. The reason given for this medieval policy of confining the Jews within certain districts is that to do so is necessary as a means of protecting the general population of the country. There are two answers to this contention, each of which in itself is sufficient. The one is that the people themselves, by means of repeated petitions, have shown that they attribute no harm to themselves from Jewish neighbours, and have no desire for their expulsion, and that the popular movements against the Jews in Russia can always be traced to external agitators. The other is that the prosperity and welfare of the peasantry are highest in the Pale of Settlement where Jews are allowed to live, and lowest in the greater portion of the Russian Empire from which Jews are excluded.

In by far the greater portion of the Russian Empire Jews are not native, and have never settled. One may say that, without exception, the Jews of the Empire are composed of the descendants of conquered populations. Eleven-twelfths of them became Russian subjects when the lands on which they lived passed from the sceptre of the King of Poland to that of the Emperor of Russia. To the tolerant rule of the Polish Kings their ancestors fled in the Middle Ages, when the Ghettoes of Western Europe were laid waste, and their inhabitants tortured and murdered as a preliminary

to the wars for the recovery of Jerusalem for Christendom. The quarter of a million Jews of Bessarabia came under the control of Russia as a consequence of successive annexations. The sixty or seventy thousand Jews of the Caucasus came under Russian rule when the territories in which they and their ancestors had lived for centuries were annexed from Turkey. The Jews of South Russia are believed to be descended, to a large extent, from the Chazars, a race of Tartar origin which embraced Judaism about the end of the seventh century, and from the pure Jews who settled in their neighbourhood before the beginning of the Christian era. When the kingdom of the Chazars was destroyed, many of the inhabitants migrated to the West and to the North. By some of these Jewish refugees the Russian Holy City of Kiew, "the Mother of Russian Cities," and during the past half-century a centre of Jewish persecution, is said to have been founded. From this it will be seen that Jews were settled in their present centres centuries before the advent of the Russians, and, consequently, the history of the Jews in Russia dates practically from the conquest of Polish or Turkish lands.

Catherine II., during whose reign the Partitions of Poland took place, in consequence of which a large Jewish population came under the Russian sway, was almost the first Russian ruler to show some superiority to religious prejudice in the treatment of the Jews. In her legislation for the government of her new subjects she proved herself as liberal as any of her contemporaries on the thrones of Europe, and more liberal than many of them. In her reign the Jewish population of Russia first attained appreciable dimensions. Already, however, the good-will of the autocrat was often set at naught by local bureaucrats, who denied to the Jews under their control the rights intended for them by the Empress. The liberal policy of Catherine, so far as the Jews were concerned, was continued by her successors, Paul I. and Alexander I., both of whom

showed themselves far more tolerant than large classes of their subjects, and frequently found it necessary to repress the anti-Jewish prejudices of their officials, nobles, and merchants.

The death of Alexander interrupted the period of liberalism. His successor, Nicholas I., initiated the system of outlawry, which, with an interval under Alexander II., has made the life of the Russian Jew an almost ceaseless agony. Of the twelve hundred legal enactments by which the liberties of the Jews of the Empire were curtailed between the middle of the seventeenth century and the death of Alexander II. in 1881, one-half were enacted during the thirty years of the reign of Nicholas. His attitude towards his Jewish subjects has been described as marked "on the one hand by a hatred of their faith and by persistent attempts to convert them to Christianity; on the other hand by mistrust of them, which originated in the conviction that they, or at least the bulk of them, formed a fanatical, criminal association, which found in religion a support for its evil deeds." It was he who completed the concentration of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement, which had not been invariably enforced by his immediate predecessors, an act whereby the Jews were in effect placed under the ban of outlawry. But the most diabolical of all the acts of Nicholas was a faithful copy of the Janissary system, the systematic kidnapping of Jewish boys of six and eight, their forcible conversion to Christianity, and their incorporation in the army for twenty-five years' service and more. The measure of the failure of the brutal policy, of which this practice was a part, to attain its object—the eradication of Judaism in Russia—appears in the return to their kindred and to their ancestral faith at the first opportunity, even after the passing of a generation, of many of these victims. It must not be forgotten, however, that Nicholas was the Tzar who gave most encouragement to the pursuit of agriculture by the Jews of Russia, and also that when convinced of the baseless-



ness of the charge of ritual murder brought against one of the Russo-Jewish communities in his reign he rendered the free trial of the accused possible.

The death of Nicholas and the accession of Alexander II. coincided with the Crimean War. The defeat of Russia reacted on the oppressive bureaucracy which was to some extent responsible for it, and, as has happened on other similar occasions in Russian history, a more liberal epoch opened. The new Tzar, however, needed none of the influence of defeat on the battlefield to entitle him to the description of "the most benevolent Prince that ever ruled in Russia" given to him by Lord Beaconsfield. He was a beneficent ruler both by inclination and in accordance with the dictates of reason, and under him all classes of his subjects enjoyed the blessings of a just government, with the promise of happiness-laden reforms. The example of the Tzar, always a great power in Russia, was followed by his subordinates. A liberal era commenced, and a golden age of freedom began to dawn for the Jewish subjects of the Tzar.

Alexander II. was murdered in 1881, and with his death the Empire sank back into the darkness of reaction. With the accession of Alexander III. commenced the period of the most terrible persecution from which the Jews of Russia ever suffered. In matters of religion supreme power was entrusted to Pobiedonostseff, who had been the tutor of the new Tzar in the theory of law and administration, and whose policy was the total eradication of Nonconformity. All Nonconformists suffered grievously at his hands. The Protestants of Finland, the Lutherans of the Baltic Provinces, the Roman Catholics of Poland, the Armenians and the Mohammedans of the south—all suffered in common with the smaller communities of other faiths. But it was on the Jews that the hand of persecution was heaviest. Alexander III. had been on the throne little more than a year when he gave his sanction to the "temporary" May Laws. By these Jews were, with few exceptions, once again

confined to the towns of the Pale of Settlement. The Laws were sufficiently oppressive in themselves. By their administration they were made even more so. The interpretation, in respect of Jews entitled to live outside of the towns, varied with the personality of the interpreter. In some cases removal from one house to another in a village deprived the Jew of his right to reside in a village: in others a Jew, on answering the call of conscription and thereby leaving his place of residence, forfeited all right to return to it on the expiration of his term of service. Under this iniquitous legislation there have been cases of expulsion and deportation as criminals to the Pale of the families of Jews who have been absent as soldiers fighting in the armies of the Tzar, and of returned soldiers themselves, whose wounds received on the battlefield incapacitated them from pursuing the trades which alone entitled them to residence outside of the Pale. To prostitutes, almost alone among the numerous classes into which Russian society may be divided, the whole of the dominions of the Tzar are free, irrespective of race or religion.

The May Laws were enacted "as a temporary measure and until a general revision is made of their legal status—to improve the relations between the Jews and the native population in the Pale of Settlement, and to protect the former from the hostility of the latter." The year which preceded the enactment of this legislation saw an orgy of massacre and outrage throughout the Pale of Settlement. By this means the attention of the people was distracted from the close of the era of Liberalism by the incitements, of the superstitious countryfolk on the ground of religion, of the criminal classes to be found in all large cities with the promise of loot.

The May Laws, although temporary, have never been repealed. Instead, almost year by year further persecuting ordinances have been enacted, until the conditions under which the Jews of the Pale of Settlement

live are more appropriate to dangerous wild beasts than to human beings. The system of government under which local governors and officials enjoy a large measure of freedom from central control has enabled them, when they felt inclined, to ignore the few rights which certain classes of Jews still enjoy in theory. The forfeiture on fraudulent pretexts of the rights of individuals to live outside of the Pale became a commonplace. An error in the official transcription of a name was sufficient to cancel all the rights which a man may have laboriously acquired during the course of twenty years. The failure to record the death of a Jewish boy, a mistake in his age, or even a doubt whether a name was appropriate to a boy or a girl, and the consequent failure to produce a recruit for the conscription, was sufficient to bring down upon the wretched family to which he belonged a fine which exceeded in amount the value of the whole of its possessions. Even when the strict limits of the law were not exceeded, it was often administered with a harshness that is inconceivable in a Western land. Such was the expulsion of the Jews from Moscow under the directions of the Governor, the Grand Duke Sergius, the intention of which was kept a secret until suddenly, in the midst of the Passover Festival, all the Jewish houses in the city were raided, and thousands of Jews and Jewesses, young and old, well and ill, were sent to the Pale of Settlement, in many cases by *étape*—that is, chained together as criminals.

During the generation which intervened between the promulgation of the May Laws and the recent attempt to fasten on the whole of the Jewish race the crime of ritual murder by means of the trial of Beiliss at Kiew, new forms of persecution were continually being discovered and put into force. By these means the great bulk of the Jews of Russia have been reduced to a state of intense economic misery. The year 1903 was stained by the massacre of Kishinieff, which was instigated to distract attention from the failures of the

bureaucrats, and again in 1905 and 1906 the Liberal movement was drowned in a sea of Jewish blood. These outbreaks were, however, of short duration. Not so the long-drawn-out murder of the Jewish soul exemplified by the exclusion—in some cases total, in others almost complete—of Jews and Jewesses from secular schools and colleges, even from those endowed by public-spirited Jews, and the ever-increasing difficulties raised in the paths of Jews who wished to enter the learned professions.

This is by no means the sum of the sufferings of the Jews in Russia. It, however, gives a limited picture of the effects of anti-Jewish prejudice in that Empire.

In Poland, for the realization of whose national aspirations Jews have fought and bled no less patriotically than their Christian neighbours, anti-Jewish prejudice is some centuries old. Originally it owed its existence entirely to Jesuit influence. For several years past economic and social persecution of great severity has been prevalent, due to the example of its powerful neighbours and also to the nationalist ideals which no amount of repression has been able to eradicate. Unfortunately, with very many Poles nationalism wears the form of a Poland freed of all non-Polish elements.

The record of Roumania in Jewish history is not much less terrible than that of Russia. According to the Roumanian historians, Jews had been settled in the country before it had become incorporated in the Roman Empire or the ancestors of the present governing class in the nation had arrived. Under the native Princes since the fifteenth century the Jews, with few and brief intervals, suffered continual persecution, the severity of which, however, varied in degree; and on the many occasions on which the country was invaded by Cossack, Russian, or Turk, the Jews were the heaviest sufferers. During the years immediately previous to and following the union of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Jews enjoyed

a period of freedom. This period, however, was not of long duration. In the first constitution of the new principality non-Christians were denied the suffrage, and when Charles of Hohenzollern came to the throne in 1866, almost the first event to confront him was an anti-Jewish riot. In the new constitution Jews were excluded from citizenship, and even from naturalization. Their status was that of aliens, but aliens without a country. In this dangerous condition, with few exceptions, the Jews of native, as well as their fellows of foreign, ancestry have remained ever since. The persecution of the Jews in Roumania is unique in modern Europe, in that it is not that of an autocracy or of a bureaucracy, but of a Parliament supported by the electorate. The two parties, Conservative and Liberal, vie with one another in discovering new means of oppression. The oppressive legislation is, however, seldom directed against Jews as a class. The legislation is always anti-alien. The subjects of other Powers are able, with the assistance of their respective Governments, to secure favourable exceptional treatment. If they are not Jews, they can, with little difficulty, secure Roumanian nationality, if they so desire. It is only the Jews—aliens without a country—for whom there is no relief. The anti-Jewish legislation under King Charles followed in most of its details that in force across the north-eastern frontier.

To statesmen it was obvious that the only hope for the Jews of Roumania, or at any rate the first step towards hope, was the grant of naturalization to the native Jews. It was for this reason that the statesmen of Europe, when Roumania was granted the status of an independent kingdom at the Berlin Congress, included in the Treaty of Berlin an article, No. 44, binding Roumania to grant religious freedom to all her subjects, and not to differentiate between them in any matters on account of their religious beliefs.

Roumania, however, objected that the sudden emancipation of her Jews would be harmful to the

interests of the country; and in substitution for Article 44, which Lord Salisbury desired to incorporate as it stood in the constitution, a new clause, providing for the naturalization of aliens, was included. This clause may be said to be a dead-letter. There were about 220,000 Jews in Roumania at the time of the signing of the Treaty. Immediately afterwards 883 who had fought in the armies against Turkey were naturalized, but in the following twenty-one years only eighty-five others obtained the boon of naturalization. Since then the average has been about the same. When Roumania mobilized against Bulgaria in 1912, the Jews who were incorporated in the armies were promised naturalization, but the promise has not been kept. An undertaking was also given that the Jews of the Dobrudja, annexed from Bulgaria, would retain the rights they had previously enjoyed. They have, however, every reason to regret the change of ruler. The treatment by Roumania of her Jews is an illustration, which ought not to be overlooked, of the value of guarantees based, not on national character, but on paper.

In the other States of Europe and America anti-Semitism, so far as it exists, is almost entirely latent, and displays itself only in very occasional, local and short-lived outbreaks. Even then, as in the outbreak at Limerick of a few years ago, it is often to be classed as anti-Judaism rather than anti-Semitism. The anti-Jewish movement in the recently acquired provinces of Greece may be attributed to commercial jealousy rather than to anti-Jewish feeling. The discrimination against Jews by certain hotels, clubs, and summer resorts in the United States is to be attributed to social prejudice, colloquially termed "snobbery," and, so far as self-respecting Jews are concerned, is a matter of no consequence.

## JUDAISM—A NATIONAL RELIGION

BY THE VERY REV. DR. M. GASTER.

MANY attempts have been made in the past to find a proper definition for Jews and Judaism, but all attempts seem to have failed. The reason is not far to seek. Those who have undertaken this task have been guided by modern conceptions, and have endeavoured to apply notions which fit the existing political and ethnical conditions to Jews and Judaism. But Jews and Judaism are not a modern growth, and do not conform to the conditions which prevail among the nations of Europe. The attempt has been made from different quarters and with different objects; but only on rare occasions have men of science also drawn within the sphere of their investigations the problem of the Jews. As a rule their various theories had to serve a definite purpose. They had to favour the view that the Jews are a nation, or that they are not a nation. Jews have also been studied from the point of view of the relation in which they stand to the other nations in whose midst they live. A conscious and sometimes an unconscious bias has crept into the investigation and coloured the results obtained. Side by side with it went the new conception of nationality, which has become so prominent a feature in modern times. Yet it would be very difficult to define adequately what a nation is or what a race is. Whatever answer might be given to these questions from the study of modern problems, it could not be made to fit the question as it applies to Jews and Judaism,

Among the modern criteria of a nation, unity of language is given the first place. The racial difference

has been more and more neglected; nay, modern nations have gone so far as to attempt the obliteration of the racial origin by a policy of forcible unification on the basis of the same language. In Russia, Germany, and Hungary this process has been carried out, and is being carried out ruthlessly against the other nationalities who are not of Slavonic, Teutonic, or Magyar origin. The belief is that by such means the heterogeneous elements of these empires and kingdoms can be fused into one homogeneous nation. Another criterion has been a supposed common ethnical origin—that is, racial identity. All those who are believed to be descended from one stock are claimed as belonging to one unit; and though the various sections are distinguished from one another in their speech by more or less pronounced differences, sufficiently strong to create a linguistic separation, or have even developed literatures of their own (such, *e.g.*, as Poles and Serbians, who scarcely understand one another; or Dutch, English, Germans), still, in comparison with some other group they felt themselves to be more closely akin to one another than to any other group of nations. Thus, we have in Europe at least three groups—Teuton, Roman, and Slavonic—each one claiming not only affinity of speech, but even kinship of blood, common racial descent. Nay, we hear also of an Anglo-Saxon race, which is the result of the fusion of two distinct branches of probably a single stock, though with a strong admixture of Roman-Celtic blood.

A third criterion has been geographical and political unity, quite independent of linguistic and racial origin. A confusion has thus been created between citizenship and nationality. So we have in Switzerland three nations living close to one another, each one speaking a different language, each one claiming a different descent, and yet all of them considering themselves of the Swiss nationality. It is only geographical and political unity which combines them.

How unsatisfactory all these definitions are can best



be shown by another fact which cannot be gainsaid. There is among modern States one whose inhabitants are sharply divided by language, by race, by faith, and by tradition—namely, Belgium. This State is a modern creation. The inhabitants are spoken of as belonging to one nation, and yet this appellation strikes nobody as incongruous. Here “nation” is evidently taken as a designation for political unity, just as in Switzerland.

If we now apply these three criteria to the Jews, we shall find that two fail entirely, and the third starts from wrong premises.

First, the linguistic criterion. For centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, the Jews have had no common language in which to converse. They have adopted the languages of the nations in whose midst they lived. They have developed literatures, often very rich and flourishing literatures, in those languages. They have taken from the others and contributed to the treasures of the others by using Arabic or Greek, or in modern times the German, French, and English languages. Jews are linguistically just as much separated one from another as the other nations are. They have assimilated even the spirit of other people’s languages to such an extent that they feel themselves to be almost entirely at one with all the manifestations of that spirit. The German Jew will feel himself as much at home in the great classical writings of the Germans as the English Jew in those of the English. As to geographical unity, one might say that even from the time of the prophets onwards there existed a Jewish Diaspora. Although they had a geographical centre in the Holy Land, the Jews lived scattered throughout all the countries of the ancient world. It was only on the Passover Festival, when the pilgrims came from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, that was realized the widespread scattering of the nation. All the languages practically of the ancient world could be heard in the streets of Jerusalem by Jews who had

come thither to celebrate the national festival of deliverance.

Whatever claim the nations of Europe may make to purity of race, it sounds rather strange in the mouth of nations of whom none can show such unmixed purity of blood as the Jews. To the student of history, to those who have followed up the continual migrations of peoples from East to West, the clash of nations, the forcible mixtures which have taken place continuously almost from the dawn of European history, make it evident that there is no nation in Europe which can show such purity of descent as the Jews. Modern nations are not a pure ethnical unity; they are, on the contrary, the result of a mixture. The French are the result of a mixture of Romans and Gauls; the Spanish of Romans, Iberians, Goths, and Arabs; even the Italians—not to speak of ancient times—in later times are a mixture of Romans, Goths, Longobardians, and other Teutonic tribes; and so throughout the length and breadth of Europe. All these are called nations, and yet the Jews, who are of a much purer ethnical origin, and not the result of a fusion of races, cannot be styled a "nation" on that ground alone.

How, then, can we define the Jews? The only process by which we can come to a definite result is that of elimination. We set aside entirely all the theories which have hitherto done duty for the attempted definition of the European nations, for they are all misleading. We must seek for a common bond of unity which characterizes the Jew, and that is his faith. Here, again, it is necessary to draw the line very clearly and very sharply. Faith is not a distinguishing feature in the modern classification of nations. There are Roman Catholic as well as Protestant Englishmen; there are Roman Catholic as well as Protestant Germans; there are Orthodox as well as Catholic Slavs; and so everywhere we find that there is no cleavage among the nations by differences of faith. With the Jews, however, the position is totally dif-

ferent. Faith and nationality go hand in hand; nay, they are indissolubly united. No one can be a Jew who does not belong to the Jewish faith, and he who belongs to the Jewish faith belongs to the Jewish nation. He becomes absolutely identified with all the traditions of the past, and the outlook of the future is for him the same as for the rest of the Jews. No difference is made between a proselyte and one born in the faith. The new Jew is a full-weight Jew. He is at once connected with the founder of the race, with Abraham. Whatever may be his ethnical origin, he is made to trace his lineage through the ages back to the starting-point of the Jewish people. He becomes heir at once to the whole historic development. He not only observes all the festivals and fasts, all the ceremonies and laws, of which a large number are of a purely historic significance, but he becomes identified with the hope for the advent of a Messiah, the great ideal outlook of the Jewish nation. It is thus faith alone which creates the Jewish nation, and it is the abandonment of the faith which carries with it "excision," complete uprooting from the community. A Jew who changes his faith is torn up by the roots. There is no longer any connection between him and other Jews. He has practically died.

This is the common ground on which Jews are united. There may be degrees in the strength and quality of the faith which each one acknowledges as binding on him. But we have no inquisition. As long as a Jew has not publicly renounced his faith and embraced another, he belongs to the Jewish nation. It is of extreme importance to realize that this alone constitutes a Jew—that the nationality of the Jew depends on his faith; for Judaism is a national religion. It does not teach only abstract principles of ethics, but is intimately bound up with the history of the people, and leads the people on to a renewal of its historic life.

The life among the nations is not looked upon as the real life incumbent upon a Jew. He is everywhere

in exile, and he must look forward to the time when his exile will come to an end. The reason for the exile is a religious one, and the means for the return or the redemption of the people is also a religious one: so that he who has turned to God with all his heart may be able to worship Him in the fulness of religious liberty in the Holy Land. The aim and goal of the Jew in the Diaspora is to hasten that time of redemption. He must strenuously work for it, for it is sure to come as soon as he deserves it. Throughout the ages this has been the sustaining hope of the people, scattered as they were, broken, persecuted, living in dread of their lives. The only thing they clung to with fervour and tenacity was the hopeful faith that all this misery must one day come to an end, that a better and more glorious future was in store for them, and that they would be able to live a new religious national life, independent of all the obstacles and difficulties placed in the way of the free exercise of their religion by social and political restrictions. This alone gave the Jew power to withstand all attacks and to survive all persecutions. He was the undying optimist. He believed in the strength of the promise of a final deliverance.

This explains why from time to time men arose among the Jews who believed themselves to be the Messiah who was to usher in the new era of national religious life, carrying with it the message of greater freedom, of human brotherhood of the nations.

Whoever joined or joins the ranks of the Jews has the right to partake in all that is Jewish. The moment a Jew has forsworn his faith he has lost everything that is Jewish. A Christian can change his faith, and yet remain a member of the nation. A Protestant Englishman can become a Roman Catholic, and still remain an Englishman; and so with every other nation. Not so with the Jews.

The conception of a mere religious confraternity, which has been put forward as a definition of the Jews,

or, to put it in a different way, the claim to be Englishmen of the Jewish persuasion—that is, English by nationality and Jewish by faith—is an absolute self-delusion. The very fact that we have a common history and a common historical tradition rooted in Biblical times, and that we all look forward to the realization of the Divine promise of regathering in the Holy Land and the renewal of that common life of Biblical times, shows how contradictory such an idea must be. For the Jew faith is not a mere profession of spiritual truths or of dogmatic principles detached entirely from the historical evolution of the Jewish people as a nation; the Jewish faith is a profession of national and religious unity in the past and in the future. Judaism is the expression of the religious consciousness of the national life of the Jew. It makes him realize the world from the point of view of religion, and in the history of his nation he sees the unfolding of the Divine dispensation.

The adherents of other faiths need have neither a common political history nor ethnical unity, nor common aspirations. Englishmen and Frenchmen can be very good Roman Catholics, and yet differ entirely in their history, and certainly no one could assert that these Catholics have any other aspirations than the greatness of the respective countries to which they belong. Not that the Jew is not loyal. But his loyalty is not the outcome of the Jewish national consciousness; it is the natural outcome of the elementary principles of the rights and duties of citizenship. So long as the modern State does not rest on a purely religious basis or any of the above-mentioned criteria of nationality; so long as the modern differences of race and language, of faith and even geographical distances, are obliterated in the wider conception of the modern empire, every inhabitant of Great Britain, or everyone who swears loyalty to the British crown, whatever his race, faith or nationality may be, whatever language he may speak, whatever territories he may inhabit, be he Christian, Jew, Hindu, or Mohammedan, be he domi-

ciled in Great Britain, Canada, South Africa, or India, is a British citizen. Under this higher conception he is neither English, Welsh, Canadian, South African, or Indian; he is British, and just as all these are British citizens, so are the Jews British citizens of the Jewish faith, retaining all the while their Jewish nationality. This confusion of ideas has misled many Jews, who did not know how to reconcile their religious nationality with the duties and obligations of British citizenship. There is no real conflict between their citizenship and the ideal hopes for the future of the Jews, which have been even less concrete than the active work of English Roman Catholics for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. I take only one example out of many where political ideals can easily be cherished by the most loyal British subject without in the slightest degree infringing on the highest test of loyalty. But we must keep these notions apart. The Jews are a nation just like the Irish, and still more so, because of their faith, for there can be Irish and English Catholics, but there cannot be Christian and Jewish Jews. They are either the one or the other. As Jews, they claim the same rights and privileges, even as they willingly shoulder the burdens and obligations, of British citizenship.

Thus far this may have been considered a purely academic discussion; but the havoc which has been wrought by confused thinking and wrong definitions, by attempts at squaring the circle, and making the modern conception of nationality fit Judaism, has affected also that great movement which is a definite attempt for the realization of the secular hopes of the Jews. Anyone who has watched the religious disintegration of the Jews, especially during the last century, could not be surprised that they also have been misled by the general tendency to identify the Jewish nation, which is a religious nation, with the modern nation, which cannot even be sufficiently clearly defined. Most of them have forgotten Jewish history; a large number have become assimilated to

modern life; they speak the language of the nation in whose midst they live; they take part, and rightly so, in the solution of problems, scientific, literary, political, and economic, of the day; they keenly resent the anti-Semitic movement and the accentuation of a religious and political difference between Jews and non-Jews. The example of the nationalities that have come to new life during the last fifty years has also made a profound impression on the Jews. They have felt very keenly and bitterly their differentiation, and, following the example of these nationalities, they have awakened to a new sense of their own nationality. There lay also dormant the old tradition of the Messianic idea. But they conceived it as only to be one confined to geographical unity, and they have united their efforts for such a resettlement in the Holy Land. They called the movement a national movement, although all the necessary conditions for the definition of a nation are wanting—unity of language, geographical unity, political unity—and some have deluded themselves into the belief that such a resettlement means, without the spirit of faith, a real revival of the Jewish nation. These have attempted a divorce between religion and the other qualifications for Judaism, so difficult to define. No one who is an advocate of the Jewish national movement could define it if he separated Jewish nationalism from the Jewish faith. For can such a Jewish nationalism be so characterized? What does it mean? And whither is it to lead? Those who hold the view that Judaism is a non-religious confraternity, merely called a nation for convenience' sake in the absence of a better term, must think the matter out to its ultimate consequence. If Zionism stands for a national revival, taking here the word in the general sense—if it is to be something more than a mere gathering of scattered elements, then it must mean more than the establishment of a colony on a larger scale. It cannot be without a specific character of its own, and it must be distinguished, say, from an English or a French colony. Unless it stands

for such a conception, it stultifies the fundamental principles of Zionism, which means a complete Jewish national rebirth in the ancient land. Assuming for argument's sake that Jews could settle in large numbers in any tract of land assigned to them by a benevolent Government, could this be considered as a Jewish national revival? The utmost that it could claim to be is a settlement of Jews, a colony like those in the Argentine or in Canada, of settlers of Jewish origin; but not a Jewish commonwealth. Zionism means a resettling of Jews in their own ancient home, not the establishment of a colony or a number of colonies. The latter might mean economic ease and a certain measure of political freedom, and nothing more. Some of the adherents of the Zionist movement delude themselves into the belief that it is sufficient to gather together even in the Holy Land. That is the only difference between them and the territorialists, or adherents of the policy of simple colonization of Jews anywhere. Others have begun to realize that something more is required if this resettlement is to lead to a national development. They have taken a leaf out of the modern practice of other nations. They seek to establish a closer unity between the members settled in the Holy Land by reviving the ancient Hebrew language. Linguistic unity is to be the outward symbol of national revival. The fallacy of this argument is very clear, as already shown above. The forcible conversion of non-Slavonic races by foisting upon them the use of a Slavonic tongue does not bring about real racial fusion or the establishment of national unity. Most heterogeneous elements may apparently be welded together by linguistic unity. According to this principle, the Jews who speak the German or English language have ceased to be Jews, and have become part of the German or English nation. A Christian speaking Hebrew, here or in Palestine, does not become thereby a Jew. The perfect knowledge of Arabic by the Jews in Spain, the ease with which they



used that tongue in all their writings and in all their literary works, even for sacred poetry, did not make the Jews part of the Arabic nation, nor does the knowledge of a language—say, of Italian—by an Englishman make him an Italian. Linguistic unity is no doubt helpful towards a better understanding between the various members of a commonwealth, and it may lead later on to unity of spiritual manifestation; but by itself it does not create a nation, nor is the absence of it any proof of the lack of national existence. The aim and goal of Zionism is to create for the Jew a new home, not so much for physical as for spiritual life. This must be borne in mind and never lost sight of—that the Holy Land is to become the spiritual centre of the Jews. This stands far above any political or economic consideration.

A nation does not live only by the toil of its hands. It lives still more by the work of its brain and by the impulses of the heart. No one expects the whole of Jewry to settle now or within a measurable distance of time within the borders of the Holy Land, however widely they may be extended. Yet we expect from the settlement of a comparatively small portion of the Jews a complete emancipation of the spirit. A new possibility is to be given to the Jew to live again, and not to live in accordance with the standards and requirements of Western civilization, but to unfold his innate ethical and religious greatness in the land of his fathers, unfettered and unhampered.

The Jewish Commonwealth is to give to the world a lead, not only in the new interpretation of ancient truths, but also in the practical application of the ancient laws, towards the solution of many of the social problems which so much oppress and darken the life of the inhabitants of Europe and America. The problem of tenure of property, the problem of commercial dealing, the protection of the labourer, the purity of food, simplified procedure in the Courts of Justice, protection against usury, against rings and monopolies,

democratic organization, the principles of equitable taxation—these and many other problems are the last heritage of the feudal system, born out of the conflict with the new forces that are the result of industrial development and competition. The conflict between capital and labour, which threatens to assume serious proportions; the relation between the governing classes and the submerged; the principle of education and of equal opportunities, of religious tolerance for the beliefs of others—these and many more which are simple catchwords among the Western nations have to obtain a different interpretation and different application in the home which is to be ruled, governed, and inspired by those principles and those traditions which make up part of the Jewish life and the Jewish faith. Unless the Jews are purified from the dross of the Middle Ages which clings to them through oppression, persecution, and prejudice; unless the religious spirit is allowed to take a new flight, and unless the Jews feel themselves to be the messengers of God's truth, no gathering, no talking of Jewish nationality has any meaning, or will have any beneficial result either for the Jews or for the rest of the world. The Jewish regathering is to be of great moment in the history of the emancipation and progress of mankind. Only from this point of view has Zionism a meaning and Judaism a justification.

The ways of Providence are inscrutable. Bold would be the man who would venture to foretell the real issues of this war. It is the unexpected which often happens. The unlooked-for dream materializes, and the ideal becomes a reality. If one outcome is the resettlement of the Jews in the home of their fathers, then verily an ancient ideal will come true, and Jews will be led through Zionism to Judaism. The dry bones will come together again, a new spirit will be breathed in them, and out of the grave of the Diaspora there will arise again in the sight of the nations God's own holy people.

## THE HEBREW REVIVAL

BY LEON SIMON

THE idea of Hebrew as a spoken language of Jews in modern times is of very recent growth. But the idea of Hebrew as *the* language *par excellence* of Jews is as old as Jewish history. Jewish tradition has always sanctified that which is fully and inalienably Jewish, and so Hebrew has been for centuries "the holy language," just as Jerusalem has been "the holy city," and the Bible "the holy writings." As "the holy language," Hebrew has naturally been used by Jews, throughout their long dispersion, in that department of their life which has been peculiarly their own—in the service of God, the exposition of the Bible, and the discussion and development of Jewish law. Maimonides, in the twelfth century, wrote his philosophical work, "The Guide to the Perplexed," in Arabic; but his codification of Jewish law was written in Hebrew throughout, and the same language was used for all subsequent codes, including even the *Shulchan Aruch* (compiled in the sixteenth century), which was intended rather for the ordinary man than for the scholar. The ordinary man was, indeed, in those days no stranger to the Hebrew language. He prayed, privately and publicly, in Hebrew, and the only books which had a recognized place in his education were written in Hebrew or in Aramaic, a kindred language. This state of things has continued till the present day in Eastern Europe, where the great masses of Jews live. Thus Hebrew, though not the speech of every day, has always maintained a real place in Jewish life. This fact is reflected in the large number of Hebrew

words and phrases which have found their way into the composite language, Yiddish, spoken for centuries by the great mass of Jews in Europe. Yiddish, besides being largely Hebrew in vocabulary, is normally written and printed in Hebrew characters. But it cannot supplant Hebrew as *the* language of Jews. It lacks the essential qualification of "holiness"; that is to say, it is not a language in which the Jewish people expressed itself in the days of its independent life and creative national activity, and is not therefore bound up with the national consciousness of the Jew. That quality belongs in some degree to Aramaic, which was used by the Jews before the break-up of their national life; but it belongs supremely to Hebrew, the language of almost all the books which are collectively known as the Bible, because in these books the genius of the Jewish people has expressed itself most fully.

Hebrew, then, has never been a dead language, and never can be so long as the Jewish people exists. That it is an integral part of the Jewish scheme of things has been shown not only by its retention as the language of prayer and of the exposition and development of Judaism, but also by its being used for other purposes also when Jews, after a period of more or less complete segregation, have come into contact with the outside world and its culture. Thus, in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, in what is known as the "Spanish period" of Jewish history, the production of a number of works of capital importance in the sphere of Jewish thought was accompanied by a considerable output of Hebrew poetry, much of which bore no special relation to Judaism. Not only did the Jew express in Hebrew verse his undying love for Zion, but it was considered no offence to the dignity of "the holy language" to use it as a vehicle for poems of love or wine. Among the Jews of Italy the tradition of a secular Hebrew literature—a Hebrew literature not specially concerned with religion or Jewish law—went on almost unbroken from the end of the "Spanish period" to the eighteenth

century. In Northern and Eastern Europe conditions favourable to a similar development did not exist. The Jews in those parts lived in more or less complete isolation from the outside world and its ideas. But when, about the middle of the eighteenth century, they began to emerge from their long Ghetto-seclusion into European life in Germany, one of the reactions produced by the impact of a new culture and new ideas was a secular Hebrew literature. Some of the followers of Moses Mendelssohn set themselves assiduously to cultivate the use of Hebrew as a literary language for general purposes. These writers grouped themselves around a periodical known as *Ha-Meassef* ("The Collector"), which appeared with intermissions from 1784 to 1790, and they are accordingly called "Meassefim." The best-known of them is Naphtali Hartwig Wessely (1725-1805), a close friend and disciple of Mendelssohn. Besides essays, grammatical works, and short poems, Wessely produced a long Hebrew epic on the life of Moses, which achieved considerable popularity in its day. But Wessely and the rest of the *Meassefim* had little originality or real poetic gift, and they created nothing of permanent value as literature. To-day, though modern Hebrew has a wider vogue than it had in their time, their works are not read. Their importance is purely historical: it lies in the fact that they had a certain influence on the current of ideas in Jewry, both in Germany and beyond.

It is to be noticed that their cultivation of the Hebrew tongue was inspired by no conscious nationalism. They appear rather, as we look back on them, to have been distinctly anti-nationalist in tendency. They used Hebrew partly, at least, for the purpose of breaking down the traditional exclusiveness of Jewry by introducing modern ideas into the Ghetto. They did not see—it is much easier to see it now—that the loss of that exclusiveness, unless it were counter-balanced by some new and powerful centripetal force, must lead to the weakening of the sense of unity among

Jews and the loosening of the hold of Judaism on their minds. Thus, they were pioneers of assimilation. They made Hebrew literature a bridge to modern culture; and when once the bridge was crossed it could safely be forgotten. No Jew of that period would want to read Wessely's epic when once he could read Klopstock's "Messias," to which Wessely owed much of his inspiration. Thus, in the stampede towards assimilation which was one of the results of the Mendelssohnian movement in Germany, the Hebrew revival exercised no restraining influence; it was, on the contrary, a contributory cause. So far as Germany was concerned, the Hebrew revival had done its work when once the Jews had given up their exclusiveness and begun to drink from the well of European culture. Small wonder, then, that the movement initiated by the *Meassefim* had but a short life on its native soil.

.. But farther East the movement had different results, because of the different circumstances in which the Jews lived. Galicia and Russian Poland, the home of the masses of Jews, were untouched by the emancipatory movement, and Jewish life went on there as before. The ideas of the *Haskalah*, the *Aufklärung* ("enlightenment" or "modernism"), might penetrate the Ghetto to some extent in their Hebrew dress, but political and economic conditions did not permit them to have their full effect in complete assimilation. The most that they could do was to stir up a revolt against the traditional exclusiveness of Ghetto Judaism within the Ghetto itself. In Germany the *Maskil*, the champion of *Haskalah*, could become a German, and cease to feel himself primarily a member of the Jewish people; but in Eastern Europe political and economic conditions made a similar transition impossible. Hence the new literary movement, as the vehicle of *Haskalah*, had opportunities of permanence and development in the East which it lacked in the West. Bound up in origin with the struggle for political and social emancipation, it worked itself out, and attained

real importance, precisely in those centres of Jewish life which emancipation did not touch.

The life of Jewry in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century presented many a target for the shafts of the new "modernism." The Rabbinic system of life, with all its faithfulness to the highest ideals and its essential reasonableness, had become hardened and narrowed through lack of contact with the outside world. The regulation of the individual life in its smallest details had been carried to excess, and personal freedom was at the minimum. Religious zeal had largely degenerated into fanaticism. The Rabbis, and most of the people with them, were bitterly opposed to foreign ideas, seeing in them—and not without reason—a danger to Judaism in the only form in which they knew it. There was, even before the advent of the *Haskalah*, an element in revolt against Rabbinism. The sect of the *Chassidim* ("pious ones") came into being at the beginning of the eighteenth century as a protest against the prevalent over-insistence on Rabbinic learning and legalism. The *Chassidim* emphasized the value of emotion as against intellect, of joyous service of God and the mystic union with the infinite in contradistinction to laborious study of the law and the meticulous observance of a complex ceremonial. But by the end of the eighteenth century the vital elements in the revolt had spent their force, and the *Chassidim* were distinguished chiefly by ignorance, superstition, blind worship of their own Rabbis, and love of good living. They were therefore even more essentially opposed to the *Haskalah* than were the Rabbinic Jews.

In Galicia, to which the *Haskalah* first penetrated from Germany, Chassidism was especially rife, and attacks on the sect figure largely in the Hebrew literature produced in Galicia during the first half of the nineteenth century. The most notable critic of Chassidism was Isaac Erter (born at Przemyśl 1792, died 1841), who combined a considerable gift for satire with

a kindliness of nature which kept his attacks free from venom. His satires, written in a simple and vivid prose, still repay reading. But the Hebrew movement in Galicia produced, besides hostile (and in the long run ineffective) criticism of Chassidism, a good deal of positive work in the field of Jewish thought and scholarship. Solomon Jehudah Rapoport (1790-1867) published a series of historical studies which were the foundation of much of the work of later Jewish scholars. Nachman Krochmal (1785-1840) developed a new philosophy of Judaism on the basis of Hegelianism. These two men were the pioneers of the scientific study of Jewish history and thought, which was afterwards carried on almost entirely in Germany and in the German language, and came to be known as *Jüdische Wissenschaft*. Thus Galician Jewry repaid its debt to German Jewry, and the Hebrew revival led to a non-Hebrew movement which helped to prevent Judaism in Germany from going to pieces. Krochmal also had some influence in another direction, inasmuch as his philosophy of Judaism paved the way for the nationalism of later days. In Meir Letteris (1815-1871), the author of a Hebrew translation of "Faust," Galicia produced a poet who clearly voiced the national hope, though he lived too early for his nationalism to express itself as anything more than a pious aspiration.

Concurrently with the growth of a modern Hebrew literature in Galicia, a similar development began in Russia, and particularly in Lithuania, the strongest centre of Rabbinic Judaism. Here also the stimulus was provided by the movement of the *Meassefim*; but there was in Russian Jewry a long tradition of Hebrew scholarship, and the infiltration of modern ideas was bound in any case to produce a *Haskalah* literature in Hebrew. Some of the intellect and idealism of Russian Jewry was diverted from the traditional preoccupation with the past and with Jewish law to an interest in the present condition of the Jewish people, which expressed



itself now in elegiac laments over the hopelessness of the outlook, now in lyrical aspiration after the return to Zion. The more distinctive note of the *Haskalah*—opposition to the traditional exclusiveness and insistence on the value and the necessity of modern education for the Jew—was not lacking. And by the middle of the nineteenth century the *Haskalah* had found a weapon more potent than merely destructive criticism of Rabbinism or of Chassidism. In 1847 Kalman Schulman (1826-1900) translated into Hebrew Sue's "Mystères de Paris," and thus introduced the romantic novel into Hebrew literature. The Hebrew novel, appealing as it did to a wide circle of readers, and not merely to the intellectual few, was an effective vehicle for the cultivation of a new attitude to life. It awoke and satisfied the dormant craving for romance, and presented visions of a life more free and ample than the drab and circumscribed existence of the Ghetto. The greatest of the romantic novelists was Abraham Mapu (1808-1867), a typical visionary, whose spirit found refuge from a life of misery and squalor in dreams of a bygone age, when man was freer and simpler, and closer to nature and to love. Trained on the Bible, and gifted, as few of his contemporaries were, with a keen appreciation of its poetry, Mapu naturally found the setting for his vision in the Palestine of the Book of Kings. In his "Love of Zion" (1853) and "Sin of Samaria" (1865) he painted a vivid picture of the life of that epoch, wholly unhistorical, but instinct with feeling for nature and the unspoilt shepherd life. Written in fine Biblical Hebrew, childishy naïve and innocent of psychological insight, these romances are as far removed as possible from any contact with contemporary life or thought. But there could have been no more effective way of driving home the contrast between the past and the present, between what the Jewish people was in Mapu's day, and what it had been in the time of its national independence. In another novel, "The Hypocrite" (finished 1869), Mapu essayed

to deal more directly with existing conditions. Here the zeal of the *Maskil*, who had suffered for his ideas, finds an outlet in creating two sharply contrasting pictures—on the one hand the fanatical and hypocritical Rabbi, on the other hand the virtuous and long-suffering product and champion of the *Haskalah*. The colours are obviously laid on much too thickly; but the novel is interesting as a record of the long struggle against traditionalism and obscurantism which modern Hebrew literature had to wage before it could come into its own.

One other protagonist in that struggle deserves, even in a rapid survey, more than a passing mention. In Judah Leon Gordon (1830-1892), the *Haskalah* found an advocate of exceptional power and literary gift. His activity covered the period during which Russian Jewry had its one real chance of achieving the ideal of the *Haskalah*—Europeanization. The Czar Alexander II., “the Liberator” (1856-1881), pursued a more liberal policy towards the Jews than any of his predecessors, and in particular opened to them the schools and Universities. At the beginning of the century Alexander I. had made some attempt to solve the Jewish problem on liberal lines; but his measures had not been very well conceived or gone very far, and his successor, Nicholas I. (1825-1855), had undone all his work by a policy of persecution which earned him the nickname of Haman II. With Alexander II. a new era seemed to have begun. Progress and enlightenment had found their way into Russia, and the Jews were invited to participate in the new-found blessings. The *Maskilim*, who had preached enlightenment through the decades of darkness, could now carry on their work under more favourable conditions. It was their task to persuade their people to accept the proffered boon—to throw off the customs and traditions that were inconsistent with modern life, and to accept the spirit and the ideas of European culture. Throughout the reign of Alexander II. Gordon stood

at the head of this liberating movement. His influence was especially great between 1872 and 1879, when he was Secretary of the St. Petersburg Society for the spread of the *Haskalah*. But long before that his pen had won him recognition as the ablest champion of the *Haskalah* and opponent of its enemies, the Rabbis. That the Rabbis should oppose the spread of new ideas was natural enough. Traditional Judaism they knew; but the combination of Judaism with modern culture, which was the goal of the more moderate *Maskilim*, was a thing as yet comparatively unknown in Russia, and experience showed that the Jew who forsook the Talmudical college for the Russian school was more likely than not to cease to trouble himself about Judaism altogether. Gordon recognized that the *Haskalah* was not without its dangers. But he held fast to his own ideal—most concisely expressed in his injunction, “Be a Jew at home and a man abroad”—and the Rabbis, with their somewhat narrow opposition to European dress and manners, as well as to all learning that challenged the supremacy of the Talmud, aroused the bitterest enmity in a mind governed rather by an instinctive love of freedom of thought than by any systematized set of ideas. Even in his historical poems, which deal mostly with Biblical themes, Gordon betrays his anti-Rabbinical bias. But his best and most effective work was done in a series of poems in which, with satiric vigour and richness of diction unsurpassed in Hebrew poetry, he told of innocent lives laid waste by the rigour of an obsolete law and the narrowness or wickedness of its Rabbinical administrators. Regarded as argument, these satires prove nothing; for every law has its “hard cases,” and Rabbinic law need be no exception. But their strength lies precisely in the tacit assumption that no proof is needed. The standpoint of the *Haskalah* is taken for granted, and the searchlight is turned ruthlessly on to a type of life which denies its postulates. The *Haskalah* has no longer to make good its right to

exist; the boot is now on the other foot. With Gordon, then, the struggle against Rabbinic exclusiveness reaches its climax and its end. The *Haskalah* has won its place, and Hebrew literature can turn itself to other tasks than that of smiting the rock from which it was hewn.

While Gordon was still at the height of his influence, political changes gave force and direction to a tendency which had already shown itself in Hebrew literature. In his late years Alexander II. had become less liberal, and the hopes of emancipation aroused by his earlier policy were disappointed. Almost immediately after his assassination (March, 1881) Russian Jewry was swept by the most appalling series of organized massacres in its unhappy history; and in the following year Alexander III. issued the notorious "May Laws," which took away whatever shreds were left of Jewish liberty. The triumph of the reactionaries was the death of the *Haskalah* in its old form. The Russian Jew could no longer delude himself into believing that he could win elementary human rights by acquiring modern culture. But if the *Haskalah*, as a movement aiming at political rights through intellectual emancipation, was dead, the effects of its work could not so easily be removed. The thirst for modern culture had been aroused among the Jews, and it could not be annihilated by the closing of schools and Universities against them. Those who could not emigrate, would not embrace Christianity, and yet were unable to acquiesce in the traditional exclusiveness, had to find another line of advance. They found it in what is now known as the "national idea."

As we have seen, the longing for a return to Zion found occasional expression in the early days of the Hebrew revival; but it was not till the late sixties that it began to take shape as a conscious philosophy and a basis of action. The transformation was in the main the work of Perez Smolenskin (1842-1885), an important figure in Hebrew literature, not only as a

novelist with a gift for narrative and vivid description, but also as a thinker who developed and gave currency to a new and fruitful idea. In 1869 Smolenskin founded a Hebrew periodical, *Ha-Shachar* ("The Dawn"), which he carried on almost single-handed until his death in 1885. The Hebrew periodical was no new thing, but *The Dawn* surpassed its predecessors and contemporaries in quality and in singleness of purpose. Smolenskin's standpoint was the result of a reaction against the *Haskalah*. He saw that the mere adoption of European culture and manners was no ideal for the "eternal people." Assimilation in that sense meant the devitalization and ultimately the disappearance of Judaism, of all that was fundamentally Jewish. For those who had won intellectual emancipation a return to the Ghetto was impossible; but unless the evil results of the *Haskalah* were to outweigh its blessings, it was necessary to find a middle course along which the "modern" Jew could proceed without losing his attachment to his people and its tradition. Judaism as mere "religion," as a mere system of theological beliefs and ritual practices, was a failure. However much it was "reformed"—that is to say, cut and trimmed to make it fit into the framework of European life—it lost its hold on the emancipated Jew. The reason, Smolenskin saw, lay in the abandonment of those elements of Jewish tradition without which Judaism as religion is the emptiest of abstractions. Palestine and the Hebrew language were forgotten, and with them went the historic Jewish consciousness. Smolenskin thus fastened on the weak spot of the *Haskalah*, and showed where the remedy lay. Year in and year out he preached the "national idea," with religion, land, and language as its three inseparable constituent parts. Hebrew not merely as a means to "enlightenment," and so to assimilation, but as an essential part of the Jew's being and a badge of his national distinctiveness; Palestine not merely as a recollection and a

pious aspiration, but as a vital factor in the sentiment of national unity; Judaism not as abstract doctrine, but as the spiritual product of the national life of the Jewish people: these are Smolenskin's main ideas, and they are the underlying ideas of modern Zionism. Thus Smolenskin's work paved the way for a change of outlook and tendency among the *Maskilim*—a change which was precipitated by the pogroms of 1881 and the reactionary legislation that followed.

The career of another Hebrew writer of note, Moses Leib Lilienblum (1843-1910), is an epitome of the development of intellectual Russian Jewry from traditionalism through *Haskalah* to conscious nationalism. Born in a small Jewish village, and brought up on the strictest traditional lines, Lilienblum early evinced signs of a dangerous tendency towards freedom of thought. He began by questioning the belief in witchcraft; he went on to doubt the validity of other ideas which were accepted in his environment as axiomatic. In 1868 appeared in a Hebrew paper "The Ways of the Talmud"—an article in which he suggested that many ordinances which had come to be regarded as essential to Judaism had been intended originally to meet purely temporary needs, and pleaded for a progressive development on the lines of adaptation to modern conditions. There was no hint of unbelief in the brochure: it accepted unquestioningly the Divine origin of the Bible and the binding authority of the Talmud. But the mere suggestion of possible changes in the details of the Jewish way of life was enough to condemn both the brochure and its author. Lilienblum, already suspected of "modernist" tendencies, was now exposed to a persecution which threatened even his life. He left his village, and betook himself to Odessa, where he was welcomed by a circle of *Maskilim*. In the new atmosphere his ideas underwent a change. He ceased to believe in the literal inspiration of the Bible, or to care about adapting

Judaism to modern conditions. For many years he concentrated his energies on the effort to acquire modern culture and become a "man." In the late seventies we find him making a poor living by Hebrew teaching, and spending all his spare time in struggling with the difficulties of geography and arithmetic. But the persecutions of 1881 produced another violent change. He saw in a flash that the Russian Jew's ambition to become a "man" was an idle dream: massacre and rapine were the world's answer to the demand. The only way of salvation for the Jew lay in winning back his national inheritance. So Lilienblum threw himself heart and soul into the new movement which was then beginning to take shape—the "Love of Zion" movement, the practical object of which was the foundation of Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine. He was closely associated with the head of the movement, Dr. Leo Pinsker, whose brochure "Auto-Emancipation" anticipated, both in spirit and in many details, the "Judenstaat" of Theodor Herzl (1895); and for the remainder of his life he worked incessantly, writing and speaking and organizing, for the "return to the land."

With the year 1881, then, we reach a turning-point in the Hebrew revival. Hebrew is no longer merely an instrument of the *Haskalah*; it becomes more and more the literary language of a nation—that is to say, of that part of the Jewish people in which the national idea and the national hope are alive. It becomes also more and more a language of speech as well as of writing, and in particular a language of speech in the Jewish school. It becomes, in a word, a national language once more. There is probably no parallel in history for this revival of a national language among a nation with no defined national existence; and it may reasonably be assumed that this extraordinary phenomenon would not have been possible had not the national idea already begun to express itself concretely in the re-establishment of Jewish

national life, on however small a scale, in Palestine. Necessarily, also, the expansion of Hebrew literature, and more especially of Hebrew speech, in the Diaspora is severely limited. Under present conditions the assimilative force of modern culture inevitably carries away the majority of those Jews who have turned their backs on the traditionalism of the Ghetto, or have never known Ghetto life at all; and as yet the Jewish settlement in Palestine, where Hebrew as the national language has its proper home, is too small to provide a sufficiently strong counter-influence. But there is even in the Diaspora a remnant, and a growing one, for which Hebrew literature and Hebrew speech are realities. At the eighth Zionist Congress, in 1907, Hebrew was declared the "official" language of the Congress. It seemed like an empty compliment: in practice it meant simply that the President opened the proceedings with a few Hebrew words. But since then the amount of Hebrew spoken at the Congresses, both publicly and privately, has steadily increased. At the last Congress, in 1913, the whole debate on the Hebrew University project was conducted in Hebrew; and Hebrew speeches on other subjects were not infrequent. The ideal of a Congress conducted entirely in the national language is still far from realization; but it is no empty dream. And side by side with the spread of Hebrew among Zionists there has grown, among sections of emancipated Jewry which have remained outside the Zionist organization, a tendency to readjust their attitude to the language and to recognize its possibilities. Thus the Hebrew movement has been as potent an instrument of the national idea as it was earlier of the *Haskalah*.

In the literature of the nationalist period the dominant figure is that of Asher Ginzberg (1856), who writes under the pseudonym of Achad ha-Am ("One of the People"). Like the great majority of modern Hebrew writers, he was born in Russia. His literary career



began in 1889 with an article in a Hebrew periodical in which he criticized the "Lovers of Zion" for the way in which they were going to work in Palestine. Ostensibly dealing with a particular problem, and one of no large dimensions, this first essay yet betrayed quite clearly the point of view which its author was afterwards to bring to bear on a whole range of Jewish problems, practical and theoretical. That organized activity must be preceded by realization of a need and understanding of the means by which the need can be satisfied; that organization must be the concrete embodiment of a living principle; that the body, whether of an individual or of a society or of a nation, is the external expression of the "spirit"; that a nation can only live if its "spirit" is able to express itself naturally and freely in the corporate life of its individual members—these ideas indicate roughly the point of view from which Achad ha-'Am has constructed, chiefly by the method of criticism, but partly also by the exposition of Jewish thought in its historical manifestations, a philosophy of Jewish nationalism. He is the spokesman of the national idea no less than Gordon was of the *Haskalah*; and his philosophy is nationalist not merely in the sense of postulating a revived Jewish nation, but also in the far more fundamental sense that it is—despite the complete absence of theological conceptions and the evident influence of Hume and Spencer—in the strict line of Jewish thought. For that reason, although his attitude towards official Zionism has been severely critical—and particularly so in the earlier years of the movement—his writings have been and are the most potent influence in the creation of a nationalist attitude of mind towards Jewish problems, not only among Russian Jews, but also among Jews in other countries, to whom his works have been made accessible by translation.

Under the stimulus of the national idea Hebrew literature has become in the most recent period a

literature of very wide range, and has a number of writers, in prose and in poetry, of marked individuality. Among the writers is numbered at least one poet (Byalik) of very high rank, and a number of essayists who have ideas and know how to put them. Poems, novels, and short stories are written in some profusion and in a variety of styles. A good deal of work is done in the field of Jewish scholarship and education. Besides a steady output of books, there is an extensive periodical literature, which includes daily papers as well as weekly and monthly reviews. Hebrew literature is thus no longer either an academic pastime or a mere engine of propaganda. It is produced, like any other literature, because there is a public that wants it, and it reflects, like any other literature, the life of the people to which it belongs. It still has, and will probably have for some time, its centre in Eastern Europe, which is the home of the largest compact body of Jews. But it has readers and writers in Western lands as well, and in Palestine, where alone Hebrew is a language of everyday intercourse, it has possibilities of life and growth such as are not offered by any other country. In the natural course of things the centre of gravity should shift gradually from Russia to Palestine.

Side by side with the development of ideas which has been sketched above there has been a corresponding development of language and style. The Hebrew of the Mendelssohnian revivalists, and of their earlier followers in Galicia and in Russia, could scarcely be called a modern language. Indeed, one of the conscious aims of Wessely and his school was to restore the "purity" of the language by discarding the use of neo-Hebrew and Aramaic expressions and going back to the style and diction of the Bible. The return to a great classical model is always of value as a corrective; and it was particularly valuable in the case of Hebrew, which had been written for centuries without any regard for purely literary canons. But

the peculiar position of the Hebrew language made the reversion to the classical style exceptionally dangerous. A language of current speech can be reinforced and enriched out of its own past, without losing its flexibility or its power of adaptation to new needs. Usage and instinct will correct any undue tendency to archaism. But Hebrew was not a spoken language, and was therefore unable to infuse new life into its borrowings from the past. They remained mere dead counters, and literary Hebrew became more like a museum of antiquities than a representation of the living present. At its worst, imitation of the Bible took the form of the haphazard introduction of poetical phrases, without regard to their suitability to the purpose in hand from the point of view either of sense or of style; at its best, it produced an old-world atmosphere and a suggestion of unreality. An attempt at a really modern Hebrew style is scarcely to be found before Smolenskin; and even his Hebrew has an antique flavour for the reader of to-day. With Achad ha-'Am, a generation later, we are in a new world. He has developed a style modelled largely on that of the period immediately following the Biblical era, and reminiscent at every turn of classical Hebrew, but yet so coloured by a mind of essentially modern temper as to be unmistakably of its own age. No other modern Hebrew writer has achieved so completely this synthesis of the old and the new. Men with a less sure instinct for the genius of the language tend to overstep the mark in their use of foreign words and idioms, and to achieve modernity of style and diction at the expense of essentially Hebrew quality. That is perhaps inevitable. Hebrew is not the mother-tongue of the Hebrew writers of to-day, nor of the great mass of those for whom they write; and, despite its growing use as a medium of speech and of education, it is scarcely yet sufficiently a language of life to have an accepted norm. It is therefore difficult at present, if not impossible, to distinguish between legitimate develop-

ment and unwarranted copying of non-Hebrew idioms. The revival of Hebrew as a spoken tongue, particularly among Russian Jews, and the growth of an extensive periodical literature have done much to enrich the language and to make it familiar to the masses of Jews. But the full fruits of the revival can be reaped only in Palestine, and probably there only after the lapse of a generation or two, when the Hebrew-speaking settlement has had time to become independent of the Diaspora, and to develop both life and language on natural lines.

## THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM

By Professor R. GOTTHEIL (New York).

**HISTORIC** movements of importance cannot be fixed within definite limits of time. Zionism as the practical embodiment of an ideal dates from 1896, but the ideal itself, that of Jewish nationalism, is as old as the Dispersion. The doctrine of the return to Palestine has always been part and parcel of the belief of the Jew, expressed in countless sayings, prayers, and poems. It is true that, as this return was looked upon, not as a simple historic event, but as part of the Divine scheme of governance, any attempt to further that consummation by human beings would have appeared to be blasphemy. However, with the advent of a more tangible view of cosmic development this belief was bound to take on a more human and terrestrial form.

The situation of the Jews in 1896 was neither satisfactory in itself nor promising in the hope that it held out for the future. With the disappearance of physical and constitutional ghettos, the Western Jews felt that they had at last come into their heritage. In order to be at harmony with the "modern spirit," they had made an effort to save the Jewish religion at the expense of nationality and race, not realizing that these last two constitute its bulwarks. The violent changes which were consequently made in the ritual caused the Jew to be a stranger among his brethren in many countries, and the remodelling of the Jewish perspective removed the wide outlook of the old Hebrew prophets, and made Judea and the return of the Jews to some form of a reconstructed common existence the ideal of those who wished to preserve the national tradition.

The forced exodus of large numbers of Jews from Eastern Europe had a deep and far-reaching effect upon the Jews of Western Europe and America. The active work of making proper provision for these victims of a relentless persecution resulted in establishing a close bond of sympathy between two portions of a people that had been estranged for so long a time. These emigrants from Russia carried with them into their new homes an ideal that had been fostered by some of their most cherished leaders and popular writers—the ideal that has been called Jewish Nationalism. Perez Smolenskin had been the first to proclaim in Russia a view of Jewish Nationalism that was civic and social, not religious. The very title of his chief work, "Am Olam" (An Eternal People), written in 1873, gives us the keynote of his endeavour; an eternal people must keep an "eternal ideal" constantly in view. That ideal he finds expressed in the one word "Zion." Since the destruction of the Temple it has represented the hopes of the Jewish people. It stands for the peculiar culture for which the Jews have striven; it connotes the Hebrew language, the use of which must be cultivated anew as the expression of that ideal; and later in life it betokened to him the physical goal for which the Jews must strive in order to attempt the realization of the ideal.

The idea that the restitution of Palestine to the Jews might become a matter of general European interest was not without its advocates even during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1799 Napoleon had inserted a proclamation in the *Moniteur Universel* inviting the Jews of Asia and Africa to gather under his leadership in order to re-establish ancient Jerusalem. A French Jew, Joseph Salvador, publicly advocated the calling of a European Congress for the purpose of reinstating his people in their old home, an idea that is supposed to have fired the mind of Disraeli, who in "Alroy" speaks the language of the most modern of Zionists in the words he puts into the mouth

of the High Priest: "You ask me what I wish; my answer is, the Land of Promise. You ask me what I wish; my answer is, Jerusalem. You ask me what I wish; my answer is, the Temple, all we have forfeited, all we have yearned after, all for which we have fought—our beautiful country, our holy creed, our simple manners, and our ancient customs." An Englishman, Hollingsworth by name, published in 1852 a pamphlet wherein he advocated the establishment of a Jewish State, urging it as a matter of much moment to Great Britain for the purpose of safeguarding the overland route to India. Ten years later Moses Hess, one of the early German Socialist leaders and a propagator of Proudhon's anarchistic ideas, in his great work "Rome and Jerusalem—the Latest National Question," not only laid down the historic and economic bases of that which was not yet called Zionism, but also developed a complete plan for the colonization and regeneration of the Holy Land.

No Christian, and perhaps no Jewish writer, has struck the high note of pathos and enthusiasm of George Eliot in her novel "Daniel Deronda" (1876). Into the mouth of one of her heroes she places words that show how deeply she had penetrated into the Jewish soul: "There is a store of wisdom among us to found a new Jewish polity. Grand, simple, just like the old—a republic where there is equality of protection. . . . Then our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and a brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations as the outraged Englishman or American, and the world will gain as Israel gains. . . . Let the torch of visible community be lit. Let the reason of Israel disclose itself in a great outward deed; let there be another great migration, another chosen of Israel, to be a nationality whose members may still stretch to the ends of the earth, even as the sons of England and Germany, whom enterprise carries afar, but who still have a national hearth and a tribunal of national

opinion. . . . Let us help to will our own better future, and the better future of the world—not renounce our higher gift, and say, ‘Let us be as if we were not among the populations,’ but choose our full heritage, claim the brotherhood of our nation, and carry it into a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles. The vision is there: it will be fulfilled.”

But there was no more potent factor in finally creating an interest in the larger aspect of the Jewish question than the attempt made to resettle the Promised Land. It is true that all through the Middle Ages communities of Jews had lived in various parts of Palestine, chiefly in Jerusalem and in one or two cities of Galilee, making a brave fight against overwhelming political and economic odds. The relation of these communities with the Jews of other lands had not been intimate, and had been preserved largely by the collectors of alms, who gathered sustenance for the Talmudic and Cabalistic Schools. Two events which had attracted the attention of the whole world towards Palestine and Syria caused the Jews of Europe to see the duty that lay upon them in connection with their brethren in the nearer East, and to feel the bond that had held so closely in times gone by. The first of these was the Damascus “ritual murder” case in the year 1840, as a result of which Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux, and Salomon Munk journeyed to Mehemet Ali in order to obtain redress from him, and thus became personally acquainted with the sufferings of their Eastern brethren. Twenty years later the Jews were again falsely implicated in the massacre of Maronite Christians by the Druses in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Even in very Orthodox circles a new conception of the rôle Palestine was to play in the future had gradually asserted itself. Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi in Thorn, Prussia, in his work “Emunah Yesharah,” published in 1860, conceded that the Messianic idea can become a fact only in the slow working of historic events. It was Kalischer’s written word that



brought about the first attempt made by the Jews to redeem the Land of Promise, for it inspired Charles Netter, under whose auspices the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* founded the Mikweh Israel Agricultural School. Kalischer himself made an attempt at actual colonization in the early seventies near Lake Tiberias, and at the same time a settlement was effected at Petach Tikwah, near Jaffa; but these were sporadic, probably unintelligent experiments, valuable rather as indications of a real interest in the matter than as successful political accomplishments.

The anti-Semitic movement of 1881 and the following years was a practical lesson that finally awakened the Jews to the fact that while the world had progressed in general ideas of communal and international comity, the Jewish position had grown worse. After the havoc consequent on the May Laws, Leo Pinsker, a physician, sent a warning note ringing through Russian Jewry. In his work "Auto-Emancipation" he concludes that the root of evil from which the Jews are suffering is the fact that since the destruction of Jerusalem the various peoples and rulers have never had to deal with the Jew as a nation, but only with individual settlements of Jews. It is therefore a duty which the Jews owe themselves to find and to found a centre, not necessarily in the Holy Land, but wherever a fitting soil can be found for the homeless people. But Pinsker did not only preach self-emancipation; he sketched in broad outline the means that were to be adopted to reach this end. His perspicacity and clear vision are evident from the circumstance that in a general way the lines he foreshadowed, but was not destined to see realized, are those upon which later developments were to run.

But those lofty ideas were but dimly understood by the people at large, and Dr. Pinsker, being unable to achieve the full measure of his purpose, was forced to accept less and to become the head of the *Chovevé Zion* (Lovers of Zion). This movement, which had

Odessa for its centre, spread into all parts of the Diaspora, and did excellent work in assisting colonization and furthering the dissemination of culture among the Jews of Palestine. Critics, however, urged that it failed to utilize the rare opportunity it had of making its programme large, bold, and statesmanlike; and when Zionism started to occupy the position which, in their opinion, the *Chovevé Zion* Societies should have taken, there was noticeable discord between the two parties. However, the London body accepted the Zionist platform in 1898, and the Odessa Committee in 1906 acquiesced in the resolution adopted by the Seventh Congress. It is, moreover, undeniable that, without the primal interest in Palestine which the *Chovevé Zion* generated and centralized in Russia, it would have been difficult for Herzlian Zionism to penetrate there.

In the year 1874 the first attempt was made to found a Jewish agricultural colony in Palestine. Some Jews from Jerusalem laid the first stone of Petach Tikwah. The second dates from 1882, when immigrants from Russia and Roumania settled at Rishon-Le-Zion and Wad-el-Chanin in Judea, Rosh Pinnah in Galilee, and Zichron-Jacob in Samaria. The real impetus to these attempts belongs to the *Chovevé Zion*. Although these pioneers suffered dire necessity, they kept manfully to the task they had set themselves. The history of Jewish colonization in Palestine between the years 1882 and 1889 represents a further attempt at a solution of the Jewish question on the lines of the old philanthropic nationalism. It was not until 1907 that the evils of the bureaucratic system and of absentee landlordism were fully recognized, and the colonies handed over to the colonists. In this way the duties of government were laid upon the shoulders of those who by rights were called upon to bear them, and a more healthy spirit was engendered. Material prosperity followed in the wake of the change. In 1911 the Vinegrowers' Association of Rishon-Le-Zion and

Zichron-Jacob were able to pay off nearly half a million francs of their indebtedness to Baron Edmund de Rothschild.

But the man who was finally to give to Palestinian colonization the full force of its attraction, and to endow the programme of Chovevé Zionism with a wider appeal, was, curiously enough, a typical product of that very *milieu* which had for so long remained callous to the voice of Jewish nationalism. Theodor Herzl was, in point of fact, quite unprepared for the work which he was called upon to do. A student of law at the Vienna University, he had been completely drawn away by other and more secular interests from contact with Jewish affairs. His exquisite and facile pen had led him into literature and journalism while living in Paris as the representative of the *Neue Freie Presse*. The anti-Semitic campaign attendant upon the Dreyfus affair had made a deep impression upon his sensitive nature, and awakened with a start his dormant Jewish consciousness.

The "Judenstaat" was written in Paris in the year 1895. It is evident to how great an extent Herzl's personality was instrumental in the unifying and up-building work that he did, from the very fact that the doctrines that he propounded were not new. They had been set forth quite as translucently by Pinsker, who even suggests the same practical measures as those enounced by Herzl, by means of which the "Jewish State" was to be built up. I am assured that Herzl had never heard of "Auto-Emancipation" until several years had elapsed, nor had he known of Hess's "Rome and Jerusalem." It is, therefore, the more remarkable that the conclusions are so similar. Starting from the premise that anti-Semitism is a continually increasing menace, and that it is evidently ineradicable, he comes to the conclusion that the outside world does not desire to intermingle with the Jews except upon conditions that are subversive to the continuance of the Jews as a people. That which the

Jewish people needs is a definite and certain home, and it is to the realization of this end that Herzl devotes most of his attention. He demands the formation of a new organization, a "Society of Jews," which is to make all the preliminary scientific and political investigations and be succeeded by a "Jewish Company" with a capital of fifty million pounds, and with a seat in London. Notwithstanding a poetic foresight that was native in him, Herzl writes with the pen of a politician and speaks the language of a statesman. He is a cool and modern man of the world, speaking to moderns like himself.

From all the evidence it is plain that Herzl never had the slightest idea of placing himself at the head of a practical organization. When he moved back to Vienna, the *Kadimah*, a nationalistically inclined society of Jewish University students, addressed him a letter in which it acknowledged its adhesion to his views, and made a direct proposition, looking to the founding of a society of Jews to take up the work he had mapped out. But the first just appreciation of the whole scope of Herzl's scheme was by Israel Zangwill, through whose instrumentality he was invited to appear before the Maccabæans in London in July, 1896. Herzl himself had inaugurated a public discussion of what had now become known as Zionism by a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle*, in which he says:

"My pamphlet will open a general discussion on the Jewish question. . . . (The newly formed society) will then find out for the first time whether the Jews really wish to go to the Promised Land, and whether they ought to go there."

The first edition of the "Judenstaat" had been published in Vienna in 1896. The question raised by the pamphlet had, in fact, penetrated far and wide. In some manner not as yet explained it had been brought to the notice of the Sultan of Turkey, who, according to the statement of Mr. Lucien Wolf, despatched to Herzl in May, 1896, a secret emis-

sary, the Chevalier de Newlinsky, with the offer of a charter for Palestine in return for the cessation of the European press campaign against him because of the Armenian massacres. The Jews however, were not only not so powerful in the Continental press as the Sultan supposed; they were also not so supine as to execute such a bargain and reach their own goal over the dead bodies of another race. This circumstance was at all events calculated to induce Herzl to persevere, and early in 1897 he issued the call for the First Congress, which was to be the beginning of his constructive policy. By this he meant the passage from discussion to deed, and it was consequently necessary that the various Jewish organizations and certain public men should define their position towards the new movement. It must be admitted that this position was in most cases frankly hostile. The larger organizations, such as the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Paris, the Jewish Colonization Association, and the Vienna *Allianz*, announced a determined opposition, and even the *Chovevé Zion* in Western Europe refused to join hands. Zionism was too orthodox for the Reform Jews, not sufficiently religious for the Orthodox, and too Jewish for the No-nothings.

In addition to the difficulties resulting from purely doctrinal considerations, there was evident a certain solicitude, a mistrust and apprehension that Zionism might bring in its wake a catastrophe boding evil to the political position won by the Jews in so many modern civilized states. It was feared by many that the movement justified the charge that the Jews were strangers in the various lands of the Diaspora. This disquietude, as well as a certain Chauvinism which was deemed necessary as a counterblast to Zionist propaganda, was exhibited in various quarters. In 1897 the association of Rabbis in Germany suggested the possibility of an entente by publicly declaring that while "the attempts to found a Jewish national State in Palestine are contrary to the Messianic promise of

Judaism . . . no opposition can be seen to the noble plan to colonize Palestine with Jewish agriculturists." But the limitation demanded of the Zionists was one which in good conscience they could not accept. Nationalism was the very heart of the movement, and without it all the other members would become atrophied. The contending positions were thus clearly defined; the two sides had joined issue.

I have said that the summoning of the Congress was the first constructive work attempted by Herzl. Its importance lay in the fact that it was not only to be the means for concentrating various efforts that were being made towards a common goal, but in itself it was the announcement of a definite policy ultimately connected with all Zionist endeavour—that of organization upon a democratic basis. Moreover, the Jews had had no forum from which they could speak to the world at large. A Congress of Jews speaking with a delegated authority in the name of a large body of the people, and holding its deliberations in public, was calculated to have a wide hearing, and to serve the cause of the Jews in general. It has been argued that the Zionists arrogated to themselves an office they did not really possess—that of speaking in the name of the whole Jewish people. The arraignment is not without some justification, which, however, on second thought is more seeming than real. The Congress never sought to hide the fact that it had its many opponents, but it felt that, composed as it was of delegates representing all the various phases of Jewish life and thought, it had a certain universal Jewish character, and that, therefore, its assumption to speak for what has been well called Catholic Israel was not the presumption it seemed to be at first sight.

The first Congress met in Basle in August, 1897. It was intended to hold it in Munich, but this plan was actively opposed by the official Jewish community of that city. The chief import of this Congress lies in the fact that it drew up a declaration which in its

opening paragraph has become the watchword of the whole movement, and which is universally known as "The Basle Programme."\* This paragraph affirms that "The object of Zionism is to establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." In employing the words "publicly and legally assured," the Congress laid stress upon the fact that what was demanded was a *right* and not a *favour*, that the Jewish masses counted upon the assistance of more fortunate peoples in obtaining the status which these enjoyed. A home, to be effectively assured to the Jewish people, must be "legally" recognized as such by the forces that control the forward movement of modern civilization; under other conditions it might become as insecure as the present tenure in various lands. The important words "in Palestine" denote a distinct change in Herzl's mental attitude, for in the "Judenstaat" he speaks of Palestine or any other country that may be found suitable. He had evidently come to see that the Jewish heart was beating for one spot, and could no longer have any doubt that the future of Israel was bound up irrevocably with Palestine. It is true that a strong minority in the organization of the Congress insisted upon the older standpoint, and formed an active opposition which led in after years to the exciting scenes of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses.

Eleven sessions of the Congress were held between 1897 and 1913; from 1897 to 1901 yearly; from that time forward bi-annually. Although a certain change had taken place in Herzl's attitude regarding Palestine, he still held to the large political view of the whole question. He believed that the policy of what he called smuggling a few families into Palestine was unworthy of a great cause—that it was necessary to secure first and foremost political rights. This attitude, which caused him to be looked upon by a portion even of his own adherents as an opponent of Pales-

\* For the text of Basle Programme, see Appendix I.

tinian colonization, is explained by the precarious state in which the Turkish Empire was at that time. His negotiations with the Sultan, carried out in various ways between the years 1898 and 1903, seemed to lead to no definite result. Even if the various offers of the Sultan were made in good faith, the Jewish people refused to give Herzl the means with which to close any bargain. In the meantime many in the Organization grew restless, especially two groups of the Congress—one representing the older *Chovevé Zion* view, to whom the name *Zioné Zion*, or Zionist à outrance, was given; the other made up of pure nationalists, whose specific interest was directed to Palestine as a possible centre rather than the *only* possible one. This latter group reasoned that, if the undertakings with the Sultan were likely to prove abortive, it behoved the Zionist leaders to look elsewhere, and to find another land in which the much-desired home could be established.

It is from this point of view that we must regard the attempt made in 1898 by Dr. David Trietsch and others to transfer Jewish colonization to the island of Cyprus, as well as the concession demanded for a Jewish settlement in El-Arish. The matter of El-Arish had originally been broached by the German Zionists in 1901, and was taken up by Herzl in the autumn of 1902. The negotiations opened in London were pursued in Cairo, and in the beginning of 1903 a scientific expedition was sent thither to report upon the feasibility of the plan. The report of this Commission has never been made public, but it is generally understood not to have been unfavourable. The negative outcome of the matter was, according to the Anglo-Egyptian Government, due to the lack of water there, which would necessitate the use of some of the Nile overflow for irrigation purposes, and this could not be spared by Egypt. But the spirit in which the British Government had treated the proposal concerning El-Arish was particularly pleasing and encouraging. The good-



will and support of the statesmen of a land that was thoroughly imbued with liberal ideas and tendencies, and that had had such varied experiences in colonization, were rightly looked upon by Herzl as a most valuable asset.

It was while Mr. Chamberlain was visiting the newly acquired East African Protectorate that he conceived the idea that here might be found a convenient place for a Jewish settlement. The possibility of such a settlement had first been mooted in the *London Jewish Chronicle* in July, 1903, by a correspondent, Robert P. Yates, who was entirely outside the Zionist body. The negotiations culminated in an official letter from Sir Clement Hill to Mr. L. J. Greenberg, dated from the Foreign Office August 14, 1903. It has been said with reason that this letter marks an epoch in Jewish history. It is not concerned with individual Jews, nor with a small community, but with the whole Jewish race, and its offer contained a measure of self-government which might well tempt the most sanguine nationalist, a grant of land, a Jewish head official, and practical autonomy under the general control of the home Government. It is as well to state here that official Zionist hopes and aspirations have never gone beyond that point.

The position of Herzl was indeed difficult. The letter of Sir Clement Hill had come to him almost on the eve of the Sixth Congress—August 23-28, 1903. By presenting this letter he ran the risk of alienating the *Chovevé Zion* element, who were known to be intransigent on the subject of Palestine. On the other hand, it was impossible to ignore so generous an action on the part of a great Power. In his masterly and carefully worded opening address Herzl tried to make it clear that this was not an alternative to Palestine, that East Africa could not be Zion; but the Congress by a large majority would have none of it. The opposition was made up of the democratic faction, nearly all the Russians, the *Chovevé Zionists*, and even

some of the closest friends of Dr. Herzl. As the country had been imperfectly surveyed and studied, it was evident that the one proper course to take was to send a commission of inquiry, on the basis of whose report an intelligent estimate could be made of the real value of the whole offer. This proposition was accepted, and provision was made for a special meeting of the delegates at the next Congress, at which the report of the Commission could be discussed.

The general view of the Commission, which went out to East Africa in December, 1903, seemed to be that the territory was insufficient for any large number of Jewish settlers, and that the ground was fit rather for grazing than for agriculture. Besides, a strong opposition to the grant had developed in the East African Protectorate, and telegrams arrived at the Foreign Office couched in terms that showed the difficulties such a settlement would have to encounter. Several lines of cleavage which had existed within the ranks of the Congress from the beginning had been accentuated and made more apparent by the East African project. During the sessions of the Sixth Congress a Jewish Congress had been held in Palestine. The organization which this Congress proposed showed that Palestinian Jewry was drawing apart from the leaders of the Zionist movement. Most of the Russian leaders sympathized with it. Those of them who were members of the Central Committee met at Kharkoff in October, 1903, and agreed to obtain from Herzl a written promise to relinquish the East African project. The resolutions of the Kharkoff Conference were, however, permitted to drop out of sight, and nothing further was heard of the new organization projected in Palestine. The Seventh Congress of 1905 was to decide upon the East African offer. The final resolution that brought to an end official discussion on the subject declared that "The Zionist organization rejects either as an end or as a means colonizing activities outside of Palestine and its adjacent lands. . . . The Congress records

with satisfaction the recognition accorded by the British Government to the Zionist organization in its desire to bring about a solution of the Jewish problem, and expresses a sincere hope that it may be accorded the further good offices of the British Government, where available, in any matter it may undertake in accordance with the Basle programme." Most of the Territorialists abstained from taking part in the official vote, and later caused the first real and effective split in the Zionist organization by forming the Zionistic Territorial Organization in Berne, which afterwards, under the leadership of Mr. Israel Zangwill, became the Ito, or Jewish Territorial Organization.

Herzl's death in 1904 produced a change in the centre of Zionist activity, which had up to that time very naturally been in the place of his permanent abode. But Vienna, although it possessed certain natural advantages, was not a spot favourable for active Jewish propaganda. For a short time London was debated, but London was the seat of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and it would have been unwise to concentrate all the Zionist institutions in one locality. Germany, the home of two of the leaders and closest friends of Herzl, was finally chosen as the future home of the movement. It was from this very Germany that the strongest protests and pronouncements had come during the early years of Zionism. But the Russian and Roumanian Jewish students at the German Universities, a number of them nationalists, had founded their own *Verbindungen*, and gradually gained adherents from among the German-born Jewish students. These societies, of which there are a surprisingly large number, have brought into the bonds of the closest ideal friendship a number of young men who have acted as leaven both within the University and without. It was this idealism that prepared the way for the definite leadership assumed by the German Zionists in 1911, when the seat of the Inner Actions

Committee was fixed in Berlin, and when Professor Otto Warburg was chosen by his colleagues to preside over the Committee.

This change in the place of the central governing body denoted also a certain change in policy, or, to be more just, a greater accentuation of one part of Zionist activity. The old rivalry between the two lines along which the Movement had been conducted had become somewhat stereotyped in the designation of the one as "Political" Zionism, and of the other as "Palestinian" Zionism. The arch-"politicals" held fast to the formulæ which Herzl had laid down at the beginning of his Zionist career. They believed that it was wrong and unwise to forward colonization before full political guarantees had been secured. The extreme "Palestinian" Zionists were impatient for what was called "practical" work in Palestine. It was these latter who were in a measure to carry the day. Originally they were a group of Russians, at whose head was Mr. M. Ussischkin; but after Herzl's death their representatives at Congress were assisted by the German contingent, and during the period 1904-1911, when the Zionist organization was under the leadership of David Wolffsohn, they made rapid strides. At the Congress of 1911 they won a final victory, and passed from the Opposition to the Government benches. A practical expression of their policy has been given by the Palestine Commission, which has furthered various Palestinian enterprises, and has made it possible to rally to its assistance other elements in Jewish life than merely affiliated Zionists. The Technical School at Haifa, the Hebrew Gymnasium at Jaffa, the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Atlit, and the Bezalel School at Jerusalem, though all the outcome of Zionist impulse, would hardly have been possible without the substantial aid of many who would object to being classed as Zionists.\*

The new direction given to the Zionist movement

\* For a list of the Zionist institutions, see Appendix II.

has been strangely favoured by historic events in Turkey itself. During the Absolutist régime it had been possible for Herzl to treat with the Sultan alone, but with the change of government Charterism became impracticable, and it was plain that other methods would have to be employed. In any case, it was obviously not the time to push whatever claims the Jews might have to urge in Palestine, but simply to work there for the upbuilding of the country and for the economic and cultural strengthening of the Jewish position in the land, and to enlighten the Committee of Union and Progress upon the real ends and aims of Zionism. Unfortunately, this enlightening process has not been carried very far, although in 1908 the Anglo-Levantine Company, a daughter institution of the Jewish Colonial Trust, was established at Constantinople for that express purpose. An atmosphere of suspicion and even hostility had been engendered, thanks to the German colonists in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, the restlessness of the Arabs, and certain Syrian agitators. During the early months of the Turkish Parliament, some members alleged in the course of a debate that Zionism was a world-wide intrigue against Ottoman statehood, behind which some great Jewish banking houses were seeking to gain their own ends! Now, upon no point had so much insistence been put by Zionist leaders as upon the loyalty of the movement to the ruling sovereignty. In the pre-Herzlian period Pinsker and Achad ha-'Am had insisted upon a proper and faithful understanding with Constantinople. At the very first Congress in 1897 Herzl had set a seal upon an open and loyal intercourse with the Turkish authorities—a point which he emphasized at the Third Congress. The attitude of the Zionist leaders in this matter has been put into words by Nordau, Wolffsohn, and others; they have all plainly shown that the Zionists conceived their mission as in no way hostile to the sovereign of Palestine.

There are several other phases in the development of

the Zionist movement which deserve special mention. One of these is that represented by the *Poalé Zion*, or the Labour party in the Zionist organization, who lay stress on what they call the social-economic side of the work in Palestine. They hold that a people can make its influence felt only when it is attached to the ground on which it lives, and actually tills this ground, and that all the attempts at colonization made in Palestine are vitiated at the root by the fact that the old system of land ownership and landlordism has been preserved. For the Mizrachi group, on the other hand, the Zionist ideal is bound up with strict adherence to the ideas and forms of traditional Judaism. It has not at all times been easy to meet their exigencies on the solution of other than purely religious questions. With wise and felicitous foresight, Herzl had realized that Zionism can fulfil its undertaking only if it dismisses all such questions from its concern, and simply prepares the ground which shall make possible various manifestations of the Jewish spirit in Palestine.

There is a third phase which has acquired much credit, not only in Zionist quarters, but in Jewry in general, commonly called Achad ha-'Amism. Asher Ginzberg—or, to use his pen-name, Achad ha-'Am—is the great preacher of prophetic Hebraism. His interest is centred not upon the political aspect of re-settlement of Palestine, but on the form of Jewish culture that will be fructified. Thus Palestine is to be a "spiritual centre." But, in order that it may become this, the Jews in the Diaspora must also be regenerated spiritually, so that "the spiritual centre which is destined to be created in our ancestral country" shall come as a "response to a real and insistent national demand." It is indeed a true sign that the spirit for which Achad ha-'Am pleads is still alive, that the Jewish settlers of Palestine have proceeded directly to the cultivation of the Hebrew spirit along lines which lead to the goal envisaged by him. That spirit has been refreshed and refined by the surroundings in

which it moves; more normal conditions of life have had their natural effect, and a noble idea has not been soiled for want of free room in which to develop. The Hebrew language, which has been so important a factor in reviving national sentiment, is gradually driving Judeo-German and the European tongues to the wall, and the various schools, although they may be criticized in certain directions, are training the young in the spirit of the fathers and in the rejuvenated ideals of the past.

It has often been said that Zionism, while it may be a means for mitigating some of the Jewish misery in Eastern Europe, has no real message to the so-called emancipated Jews. The leaders of American Reform have gone so far as to look upon Zionism as the negation of the best hope and promise of Judaism. The dissemination and diffusion of the Jews is elevated by them to the position of doctrinal sublimity, and stress is laid upon this dispersion as the means for the proper fulfilment of the Jewish "Mission." But how is such a mission to be carried out if in the process the bearers of the mission are bound to succumb? It is true that until quite modern times the various communities of Jews, though living in agglomerations that were usually small in extent, were able to keep up a similar communal life by means of a common practice. Territorial distinctions had been disregarded and almost obliterated. But now that concessions are made to what is called "the needs of the day," the Jewish communities will tend to develop away from each other, and a consequent deadening of Jewish consciousness is bound to occur. A complete reversion to the unity of practice seems impossible. The Jewish hope must be reconstructed upon modern lines. Embodied in a physical centre, illuminated by a rekindled light, it will serve as a point towards which the thoughts, aspirations, and longings of the Jews of the Diaspora will converge, and from which they will draw, each in his own measure, that sufficiency of moral and

religious strength that will better enable them to resist the encroachments of their surroundings. The erection of a Jewish centre in Palestine would in no way carry with it the nullification of duties resting upon Jews elsewhere. The reform Jew, with his ideal of a mission, could carry forward that mission in the future as he has in the past. The theory that Zionism looks for the concentration of all Jews in one spot is a theory of windy unreality, for Palestine is insufficient to contain the whole of the Jewish population of the world in addition to its present inhabitants. In very fact, a serious stimulus would be given to the spreading of the very mission that it is feared will be endangered. Another serious difficulty seems to confront the Western Jew, which is the supposed conflict that might arise between his responsibility to a Jewish concentration and his fealty towards the state of which he is a citizen. This fear is founded on the errors that citizenship is coincident with racial unity, and that a good citizen can have no other ties of allegiance than those which bind him to the State of which he is a member. But no State can demand that the individual shall relinquish his peculiarities, his traditions, his family relationships; nor can it ask of any group to give up its historic associations, its connection with the other groups of the same religion living elsewhere. It can only demand that as citizens all elements shall put the needs of the State in which they live in the foreground of their thought, and render to it and to the ideals for which it stands the best efforts they are capable of. Should a conflict ever arise between the duties towards the State in which the Jew lives and his responsibility to the Jewish centre, he will be forced to make his choice; but as the Jewish home is not to be founded for territorial or other aggrandizement, such a conflict lies in the penumbra of pure speculation.

In preparation for this home, Zionism has commenced to lay the foundation-stones. Its work in Palestine is a surety that the end can be reached if only the will is



there. It is absurd to speculate upon the future of the movement; to predict its success upon the lines of its modern development would be as useless as to foretell its failure. But the continuing dispersion of the Jews into yet new corners of the globe makes the Jewish patriot, whether he be purely religious, or purely national, or religiously national, fearful of the consequences. Some such solution of the problem as that foreshadowed in the Zionist outlook seems necessary and desirable—if there is to be any outlook left, and if the “remnant that returns” is to be worthy of its species. It has been said in another connection that a people that has had a great past, if it is to have a correspondingly great future, must also have a great present. For this great present Zionism is working, in order that Judaism may have a still more glorious future. In this sense Zionism and Judaism become one and the same.

## THE JEWS AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE.

BY S. TOLKOWSKY (AGRICULTURAL ENGINEER, JAFFA).

THE idea of an agricultural colonization of Palestine by the Jews is not an entirely new one. As early as the end of the sixteenth century Don Joseph Nasi, a Jewish Duke of Naxos, began to rebuild the town of Tiberias, and in order to induce the inhabitants to take up silk culture, he planted there a large number of mulberry-trees. In 1629 Moses ben Joseph of Trani reported that the Jews of Palestine were engaged in the cultivation of cotton, cereals, and vegetables, and in the rearing of silkworms and bees.\* It is difficult to say precisely for what reasons they subsequently abandoned agriculture; the fact remains that a century ago the eight or ten thousand Jews who inhabited Palestine were strictly confined to a few towns (Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed), and had no relations with any Jewish community outside the country.

It was not until about the middle of last century that the European Jews began to interest themselves in the possibility of an agricultural colonization of Palestine. In 1854 Sir Moses Montefiore, whose interest had been aroused as a consequence of several visits to the country, was received by the Sultan, and had an interview with the British Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, regarding purchases of land which he wished to make in Palestine.† The practical result

\* D. Trietsch: "Palästina-Handbuch" (1912).

† In 1845 Colonel Gawler, a British officer, founded a colonizing society with the same object, but in view of the unsettled situation which followed the Turco-Egyptian War, his projects could not be realized. (D. Trietsch, *op. cit.*)



MEDITERRANEAN SEA

DAMASCUS

Metulah

Yessod Hamala  
Machanaïm  
Ain Seitun  
Merom  
Mischmar-Hajarden  
Rosch Pinah

SAFED

Medjdel  
TIBERIAS  
Bne Jehuda

Sedjera  
Mizpa  
Mes'ha  
Merchavia  
Janna  
Porin  
Kinnereh  
Melhamie  
Dagariah

DJENIN

NABLUS

R. Jordan

### THE JEWISH COLONIES IN PALESTINE

● Jewish Colonies.  
■ Jewish Agric. Exper. Station.

--- Railways  
--- " (projected)

Miles  
5 0 10 20



AKKA  
HAÏFA

Atlit  
Tantura  
Scheveia  
El-djemat  
Sichron-Yacob  
Chefi-bah  
Kerkur  
Chederah.

Kafr Saba  
Ain Chai  
Ain Gannim  
Petach-Tikwah

JAFFA  
Mikveh-Israël  
Rischon  
Wadi-el-Chafan  
Machne Jehudah  
Ben-Schamen  
Bir-Yacob

Rechoboth  
Ekron  
Katrah  
Hilda  
Moxah  
Kafurim  
Artuf  
JERUSALEM

Kastinieh  
Djemama  
HEBRON

GAZA

DEAD SEA



of his efforts was that he gave thirty-five families of Safed the necessary means for setting up farms.

About 1860 some Russian Rabbis started a project for colonizing Palestine with Russian and Roumanian Jews, and thanks to the support of liberal Jewish circles, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* of Paris became interested in the idea. This society sent a special envoy to make an investigation on the spot, and as a result of his report it was decided to found in Palestine an agricultural school for Jewish children of the Near Eastern countries. The Ottoman Government granted the Society 625 acres of land situated near Jaffa, on the road to Jerusalem, and it is here that in 1870 was founded the farm-school of *Mikweh-Israel*, in which the pupils are taught all branches of agriculture, and in particular the culture of the vine and of other fruits. Many old pupils of this school are to-day teachers of agriculture in the schools of various Jewish colonies; others are engaged in practical agriculture in Palestine or in the neighbouring Turkish provinces, as well as in Egypt.

In 1878 the idea of a Jewish settlement in Palestine was again broached by Laurence Oliphant and the Earl of Shaftesbury, with the result that some Jews of Jerusalem bought from an Arab of Jaffa 675 acres of land, situated nine miles from that city, on the banks of the River Audja, and there founded the colony of *Petach-Tikvah*.\*

About the same time the persecutions of the Jews in Russia and Roumania, having become more severe, caused the idea of emigration and national settlement in Palestine to gain ground among the intellectual circles of those countries. In Russia were formed students' clubs, the members of which intended to emigrate in groups to Palestine in order to become there the pioneers of colonization; and at the same time a great colonizing society was founded under the name of *Chovevé Zion* (Lovers of Zion). It was

\* For a list of the Jewish colonies, see Appendix III.

partly such groups of students, and partly isolated arrivals from Russia and Roumania, who, between 1882 and 1884, founded in Judea the colonies of *Rishon-le-Zion*, *Wad-el-Chanin*, and *Katrah*; in Samaria that of *Zichron-Jacob*; and in Galilee those of *Rosh-Pinah*, *Yessod-Hamaaleh*, and *Mishmar-Hajarden*. But the inhabitants of all these colonies had to cope with most serious obstacles, for they knew neither the country nor the language and customs of the native Arabs, while their means as well as their technical preparation were absolutely insufficient. In many settlements malaria was endemic, and menaced the health of the colonists. It was at this critical moment that the intervention of Baron Edmund de Rothschild, of Paris, occurred.

The Baron, having learnt by chance of the difficulties with which the Jewish colonies were struggling, sent out some experts, and, as a result of their reports, he decided to take under his protection the four colonies whose situation was most embarrassing. He had large vineyards planted with the best varieties of French vines, and at *Rishon-le-Zion* he built large wine-cellars, with a total capacity of 1,650,000 gallons. Between 1884 and 1888 he founded the new colonies of *Ekron*, *Sheveya*, and *Bath-Shlomoh*, and between 1889 and 1899 he bought many large sites in Lower Galilee and in Samaria, and 29,000 acres near El-Muzerib in Transjordan.

At the same time other colonies were established: *Rechoboth* (1890) and *Chederah* (1891), by Russian colonizing societies; *Mozah* (1891), four miles from Jerusalem, by Jews from that city; *Castinieh* (1895) by the Russian Society of "Lovers of Zion"; *Metula* (1896), at the foot of Mount Hermon, by Rothschild; *Artuf* (1896) by a Bulgarian Society.

The example of these colonies, where the creation of vineyards by Rothschild had given work to a large number of settlers and labourers, induced many other colonies to plant vines on a big scale. But at the

time when the Palestinian vineyards were reaching their full productivity, the price of wine in European markets had fallen so low that the piece of land possessed by each settler no longer yielded a net profit sufficient to supply the needs of his family. In order to save the colonists from destitution, the Baron's administration, at very considerable sacrifice, went on taking over the wine at an artificial price high enough to allow the colonists to live. But, in consequence of the increasing yield of the vineyards, the deficit resulting from the difference between the purchasing price of the wines and their selling price on the European markets became so enormous that Baron Edmund de Rothschild was forced to admit that it would be impossible for him to continue the system indefinitely. He realized that radical reforms were needed, and that they could not lead to good results save through an organization specially prepared for colonizing work. He addressed himself to the Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.).\*

The J.C.A. answered Baron de Rothschild's appeal, and concluded with him an agreement whereby it undertook to reorganize his Palestinian colonies. By means of a wise administration, which aimed at making the conduct of communal affairs pass gradually into the hands of the colonists themselves, the J.C.A. succeeded in awakening the spirit of initiative among the settlers, and in developing their best energies. In order to mitigate the manifold drawbacks and dangers of monoculture (practised till then by the vine-planters), the J.C.A. bought and distributed, in the immediate neighbourhood of the vine colonies, good arable lands, specially adapted for the cultivation of cereals and other annual plants. On the other hand, 352 vine-

\* The J.C.A., founded in 1893 by Baron Hirsch, of Paris, and endowed by him with a capital of £8,000,000, is engaged in facilitating the emigration of the Jews from countries where they are persecuted to other countries outside Europe. It has founded numerous colonies in the Argentine, U.S.A., Brazil and Canada, as well as performing very valuable work in Russia.



planters were grouped into a syndicate known as "The Co-operative Society of Vine-planters of the Great Cellars of Rishon-le-Zion and of Zichron-Jacob." This syndicate took over the cellars, the existing wines and the claims, and was granted sufficient working capital for managing the whole business. Measures were taken without delay for reducing production, in order to make it proportionate to sale, and for organizing the sale on commercial lines.\* In four years production was reduced from 1,430,000 gallons to 528,000 gallons. This result was obtained by uprooting hundreds of acres of vineyards and planting olives, almonds, and oranges in their place. The sacrifice was very heavy, but it soon met with its reward, and to-day wine-growing and the wine-trade are firmly established and are among the main sources of wealth in the country.

Between 1899 and 1908 the J.C.A. founded the new colonies of *Sedjera* (1899), *Mes'ha* (1902), *Melhamieh* (1902), *Yemma* (1902), *Bedjen* (1905), *Atlit* (1907), *Kinnereth* (1908), and *Mizpah* (1908). In this last year the colonizing activity of the Zionist organization commenced.†

This organization, founded in 1897 by Theodor Herzl, established in 1908 the farm of *Kinnereth* on the shores of Lake Tiberias. In 1909 the planting of a great forest of olive-trees on lands bought by the Jewish National Fund, at *Hulda*, was undertaken, and during the same year the colony of *Daganiah* was founded at the point where the Jordan flows out of Lake Tiberias. In 1910 a company of Zionist capitalists of Moscow bought a large site at *Medjdel* (the ancient Magdala), on the western shore of Lake Tiberias, in order to attempt the cultivation of cotton and lucerne; at *Ben-Shamen* the Jewish National Fund

\* A special company for the sale of wines was formed under the name of "Carmel." This company has agencies in several countries, and the Palestine Wine and Trading Company, of London, is affiliated to it.

† For a list of the Zionist institutions, see Appendix II.

began to plant another forest of olive-trees, while the Russian Society of the "Lovers of Zion" founded the little labourer's settlement of *Ain-Ganim* near the great colony of Petach-Tikwah; and during the same year, 1910, the Palestine Land Development Company, Ltd., founded with the support of the Jewish National Fund, began its operations of purchase and allotment of lands for re-sale to private individuals. In 1911 was established the colony of *Merchavyah*, on the estates of which a society, specially constituted with this object, started an interesting experiment in co-operative colonization by labourers. In 1912 the Palestine Land Development Company and the Jewish Colonization Association entered into an agreement under which they have jointly made several important purchases of land, which have not yet had time to be settled. And while all these new settlements were being formed, most of the old colonies were enlarged by fresh acquisitions of territory in their immediate neighbourhood.

The Zionist organization is responsible for the appearance of two factors of considerable bearing on the economic development of Palestine: first, the creation of the Jewish bank, the Anglo-Palestine Company, Ltd.; and, secondly, the beginning of the movement for repatriating in Palestine the Yemenite Jews of Southern Arabia. At the same time we have a most interesting phenomenon to note: whereas the essentially philanthropic system of colonization practised by Baron Edmund de Rothschild and the J.C.A. had only brought to Palestine immigrants who possessed little or no means, the expansion of the Zionist movement led to the influx into Palestine of a large number of middle-class Jews from all parts of the world, resolved to find in the country an outlet for their energies and for the small or moderate capital which they brought with them. It may readily be imagined how powerful a factor for progress, in a country not yet industrially or commercially developed, was the arrival of such a

population, determined to settle and support itself there at all costs and at its own risk.

The above brief historical sketch will show that the Jewish colonization of Palestine is not the realization of any plan or system decided upon beforehand and uniformly applied everywhere; on the contrary, what the Jews have so far created in Palestine represents the result of a host of independent efforts, inspired by different and sometimes contradictory tendencies. Yet experience and local conditions have succeeded in introducing into these efforts a certain order and uniformity, thus leading to an intelligent collaboration, conscious of the identity of the aim in view. What have been the results of these multifarious efforts? What has been the influence of the Jews on the development of Palestine during the last few decades? What part do they play to-day in the economic activity of the country?

#### INFLUENCE OF THE JEWS ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE.

In view of the opinion, often expressed by sociologists and economists, that the Jews are incapable of becoming good agriculturists, it is interesting to note that in Palestine, among all the branches of production, it is precisely in agriculture, more than in any other branch, that the Jews have shown themselves important factors in progress. In order to convince oneself of this, it is enough to compare the Arab plantations with those of the Jews. In a country where fodder, and, in consequence, cattle and manure, are scanty, the Arabs for centuries have practised a system of tillage which has seriously impoverished the soil; moreover, the yield of their crops is very meagre. Thanks to a wise use of chemical manure and the cultivation of green manures, destined to restore to the land the fertilizing elements of which the crops have robbed it, the Jews have succeeded in

increasing the productive qualities of the soil to a marked degree; while, at the same time, the employment of adequate machinery has introduced modern methods of cultivation, and has enabled them to raise the produce of various crops to quite remarkable proportions. Thus, in the cultivation of cereals, the average annual yield of the Arab fellahs is about £1 per acre, whereas in the oldest Jewish colonies it varies between £2 8s. and £3 8s. In the Arab orange-groves 350 boxes of oranges per acre is considered a very good average yield; the Jewish planters obtain far higher returns, and the writer himself had in 1912-13 an average crop of 638 boxes, and in 1913-14 an average crop of 757 boxes per acre. During the past few years Arab landowners have repeatedly had recourse to Jewish labourers for the establishment of their plantations and the pruning and grafting of their fruit-trees. In place of the primitive Arab chain-pumps, set in motion by a camel or a mule that walks round and round with its eyes blindfolded, the Jews have introduced modern pumps, worked by oil or gas motors, for the irrigation of their orange and lemon groves, and on the banks of the River Audja, not far from the colony of Petach-Tikwah, a Jewish company in 1913 instituted great water-works, which, on payment of a certain tax per dunam (the Arab unit of land-measurement), furnish the surrounding planters with the water necessary to irrigate their soil.

In order to remove the stagnant pools which breed fevers, the Jews in various places have planted clusters, great and small, of eucalyptus-trees, which have done much to make the country more salubrious, and at the same time supply timber that may be turned to divers uses.

The struggle against the foes and parasites of their crops has received constant attention from the Jewish settlers, and in this struggle they are assisted by the various scientific institutions of the country. The Jewish Health Bureau of Jerusalem supplies them

with the microbe cultures necessary for the destruction of the rats which ravage the cereal crops; and the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Zichron-Jacob, as well as the technical staff of the Zionist Organization's Palestine Office, furnishes inquirers with all instructions as to the means of combating the insects that do damage to fruit-trees.

In order to encourage cattle-breeding, the Jewish bank, the Anglo-Palestine Company, grants credits for the purchase of dairy cattle on the joint guarantee of a certain number of settlers; while the Jewish National Fund, on its farm of Ben-Shamen, gives demonstrations in dairy-work and in the cultivation of fodder. A model poultry-farm has also been established at Ben-Shamen, to instruct the colonists in the best methods of rearing poultry.

The question of theoretical and practical instruction in agriculture, both for children and for the settlers themselves, has always received attention from the various Jewish organizations in Palestine. The agricultural school of Mikweh-Israel is engaged in the technical preparation of young people; the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization publishes a monthly agricultural journal, and keeps a travelling lecturer, who goes round the various colonies giving lectures and practical demonstrations; the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station has instituted holiday lectures for teachers in the colony-schools. In 1912 the colonists, partly subsidized by the J.C.A., sent a delegate, a graduate of a horticultural school, to the United States in order to study the best agricultural methods practised in California, Texas, and Florida. In 1914 there was founded at Mikweh-Israel the Palestinian Agricultural Society, which includes among its members a fair number of agronomists, agriculturists, and horticulturists who are graduates of various European colleges, and also the best practical farmers of the country. The object of this Society is to improve agriculture and kindred industries.

But the most important event for Palestinian agriculture has undoubtedly been the institution of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station, founded and maintained by the munificence of a group of American Jews, with the main object of introducing and improving the cultivation of varieties of cereals and other plants which are not very exacting and have an ample power of resisting bad weather, disease, and various parasites. The offices and laboratories of the Station are situated in the colony of Zichron-Jacob; its fields for experiments and demonstration are at Atlit,\* on an estate of 112 acres given by the Jewish National Fund. The Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station commenced its labours in the summer of 1910. Among the results of its still brief career I quote below a few, which will illustrate the great significance of this institution for the economic development of Palestine and for the study of its agrollogical conditions.

The Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station has succeeded in isolating, and is in the act of fixing, a new form of sesame, the yield of which, other things being equal, is more than double that of sesame ordinarily grown in the country. It has also created five species of wheat and barley, which show an amazing power of resistance to the sirocco, and some species of wheat, peculiarly rich in gluten and accordingly lending themselves specially to the manufacture of macaroni.

Every year, from the end of July to the end of October, Egypt imports about £80,000 worth of table grapes, which come exclusively from Smyrna and Cyprus. The Experiment Station has succeeded in acclimatizing in Palestine a variety of table grape ripening three weeks earlier than the precocious varieties of the region, and accordingly capable of appearing three weeks earlier on the Egyptian market.

The Experiment Station has supplied valuable information as to the best varieties of olives for planting purposes, showing, by means of numerous analyses made in its laboratories, that the olives of Palestine, especially those of Galilee, are superior to foreign olives, both in the average weight of the fruit and in quantity of oil.

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\* Near Haifa.

The Experiment Station has undertaken the cultivation and improvement of various species of indigenous spineless cactus, which may supply valuable fodder for cattle. It has also discovered a new method of growing the mulberry-tree, thanks to which this tree is in leaf three weeks before the normal time—a phenomenon of great importance for the rearing of silkworms and for the feeding of cattle.\*

The Experiment Station cultivates more than forty varieties of plants designed to keep the dunes from shifting (this shifting constitutes one of the main obstacles to agriculture along the Mediterranean coast), and rapidly to provide efficient shelter against the salty winds from the sea. It has also introduced more than forty species of eucalyptus, several of which are specially adapted to the chalky soils which form the greater part of the cultivable land of the country.

As regards geology, the Experiment Station has brought together the most complete collection which exists for Palestine. Its investigations into the tertiary strata have altered the geological map of Palestine, and have profoundly modified previous theories as to the structure of the soil.

The collection of fresh-water molluscs is one of the richest in the world. The cryptogamic and phanerogamic herbaria each contains nearly 30,000 species; the latter, in particular, contains a fairly large number of hitherto unknown plants.

While so much attention has been paid to the development of the technical side of agriculture, the colonists have not neglected the business organization of the sale of their products; as in the case of wine, they have formed great co-operative societies for the sale of oranges, lemons, and almonds grown on their plantations.

No argument can show in more striking fashion the economic importance of the Jewish agricultural colonization of Palestine than the following statistics:

(a) Thirty per cent. of all the oranges and 90 per cent. of the wines which leave Palestine by the port of Jaffa are supplied by the neighbouring Jewish colonies, and oranges and wine by themselves represent nearly half

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\* The excellent Lebanon breed of milch-cows feeds mainly on mulberry-leaves.

the value of the total exports from Jaffa. On the other hand, most of the Jewish plantations are still in their infancy, and will not become fully productive for some years.

(b) In 1890 an acre of irrigable land in the colony of Petach-Tikwah cost about £3 12s.; to-day such land would not cost less than £36 per acre.

(c) About 1880 the lands which form this same colony were uncultivated, and only brought in a few pounds in revenue to the State; in 1912 the value of the annual production in the colony was £36,000, and the Government drew a revenue of £3,400 from part of the land (since a great deal is not yet cultivated, or has been planted quite recently and does not yet yield any produce).

(d) In 1880 the value of the colony was less than £1,200; to-day it represents a value of at least £600,000, and its population numbers 3,000 souls.

Industry in Palestine can as yet show but a rudimentary development. The main cause of this is the inland duties, which until 1910 were levied on goods conveyed from one province to another. If we remember that these inland duties once rose as high as 8 per cent., and, on the other hand, that the only duty on imported goods is one of 11 per cent., we can realize that conditions have been very unfavourable to the creation of new industries in the country or for the improvement of those already existing. Nevertheless, the Jews have instituted several mechanical workshops of some importance in Palestine; they have established some modern oil-works, which, by improved chemical processes, succeed in extracting as much as 10 per cent. of oil from the residues left by the primitive Arab oil-works. The production of wine and brandy is one of the most important branches of their activity; and for the requirements of their great wine-cellars they have created the coopering industry in Palestine. They have commenced, on a small scale, the distilling of essential oils—in particular, essence of geranium and thyme. The Jews do more architectural work than any other section of the inhabitants; a large number of them are engaged in the building industry, and, in



particular, the manufacture of cement-stones is almost entirely in their hands.

But it is in efforts for the creation and extension of home industries that the Jews have shown their greatest activity. In their school of arts and crafts known as "Bezalel," they have instructed 500 pupils in the weaving of Oriental carpets, in the inlaying of copper with silver—an art much admired in the East—in the manufacture of silver filigree ware, in ivory-carving, etc. In their mother-of-pearl workshop they teach the manufacture of buttons and of various devotional objects. At Jerusalem they have established a professional school comprising workshops for carpentry, machinery, iron-smelting and weaving, as well as a smithy and a dye-shop. Among the poor families of the same town they have distributed a large number of knitting-machines, the cost of which is repayable by small annual instalments. In all the important towns schools for girls and women have been founded to instruct them in the manufacture of a special kind of Oriental lace.

The foreign trade of Jaffa amounts to nearly 40 per cent. of the entire trade of Palestine. This trade, which in 1904 was valued at £760,000, had in 1912 already reached the figure of £2,080,000,\* the imports being markedly superior to the exports. If we merely take the oranges and wines exported by the Jewish settlements, we shall find that they alone represent nearly 25 per cent. of the total exports from Jaffa. If, again, we remember that the greater part of the imports is received by Jewish firms, we can form a fair idea of the important part played by the Jewish population in the trade of Palestine.

This importance is strikingly apparent in the part played throughout the country by the Anglo-Palestine Company.

\* C. Nawratzki: "Die Jüdische Kolonisation Palästinas" (1914).

Founded in 1903, this bank began its operations in Palestine the same year. The original capital was £39,000; it has been raised to £100,000. The Anglo-Palestine Company has its head office in Jaffa, with branches at Jerusalem, Haifa, Hebron, Beyrout, Safed, Tiberias, and Gaza, and agencies in the principal Jewish colonies.

Starting from the principle that the credit which may be allowed to a borrower is not always determined by the object which serves as the basis of credit, but often—and this is particularly the case in the East—by the debt-collecting ability which the lender can show when payment falls due, the Anglo-Palestine Company has succeeded in organizing in Palestine a modern system of credit. It has introduced short-term credits against the deposit, as security, of goods or bills of exchange. In order to facilitate the granting of credit to farmers, labourers, and small tradesmen, the Bank has instigated the formation of co-operative credit societies, based on the joint guarantee of the members. At the end of 1913 there existed fifty-two of these co-operative societies, containing 2,289 members in all, and possessing at the Anglo-Palestine Bank security deposits amounting to upwards of £4,000.

To replace the system of credit on mortgage, which practically does not exist in Turkey, the Anglo-Palestine Company grants long-term credits, the redemption of which is guaranteed by the crop where plantations are concerned, or by rent where houses are in question.

The deposits received by the Bank are very considerable, and their importance is rapidly increasing. This is the best proof of the great confidence which the Anglo-Palestine Company enjoys, in spite of the fact that the 4 per cent. interest which it pays for these deposits is comparatively small for Eastern conditions. The business transacted shows a slow but steady advance, although for the last few years, owing to various political complications, the general economic situation has not been very favourable. In 1910 the turnover was £5,840,000, and since then the figures have become even larger.

An interesting point to note is that the export trade for the agricultural products of the Jewish colonies is almost entirely in the hands, not of middlemen, but of the producers themselves. This remarkable state of things has been brought about by the formation of four big co-operative sale syndicates, two of which are

concerned with the export of oranges, and the other two with the export of wine and almonds respectively.

From what was said at the outset of these remarks on the trade of Palestine it will be seen that the extraordinary economic progress of Jaffa corresponds almost exactly with the period when the Jews began to interest themselves more actively in Palestinian economy, and, above all, when the Zionist organization, by founding the Anglo-Palestine Company, began its operations in the country. It would be too much to say that the credit for this great economic progress belongs exclusively to the Jews, but it is probable that they have been the most important factor.

The immigration of the Jews into Palestine, with the sole exception of that of the Yemenites, represents an entirely spontaneous movement. Their return to the land of their ancestors is not incited by any propaganda; no one pays their travelling expenses. It is on their own initiative and at their own expense and risk that the Jews return to Zion; nor do the various Jewish organizations begin to interest themselves in them until they have set foot on Palestinian soil. Thus the field of activity for these organizations is strictly confined to Palestine itself, no share of their attention or of their financial means being distracted by outside work. On the other hand, by a sort of tacit agreement, each of the organizations has set apart for itself a certain group of activities in which it has specialized, and in the execution of which it has reached a high degree of perfection. It is thanks to this limitation and division of labour that, while disposing only of modest financial resources, the Jews have been able to render substantial aid both to rural and to urban colonization.

Let us examine, in the first place, what has been done for rural colonization.

The soil of Palestine, for the most part, either belongs to big landowners or is the joint property of village

communities; it is therefore difficult to purchase such small lots as single families need. Moreover, the formalities for buying and selling land are somewhat complicated. In order to meet these drawbacks and to facilitate the purchase of small holdings by private individuals, the Zionist organization has formed a special instrument, the Palestine Land Development Company, Ltd. This society purchases on its own account large sites, which it improves, makes healthy, and divides into lots to be resold to private persons. It undertakes similar operations on behalf of the individuals themselves; it takes upon itself the management of the holdings whose owners live abroad; it is also charged with administering the domains belonging to the Jewish National Fund.

As regards the immigrants or inhabitants who wish to devote themselves to agriculture, but, though not entirely devoid of means, do not possess sufficient capital for setting up a farm, two cases may arise:

(a) If they have some knowledge of agriculture, and can prove that they possess a capital of about £200, the Jewish Colonization Association offers to sell them suitable holdings of 250 dunams (about 56 acres) each, and, if they so desire, builds them a dwelling-house and stalls for the cattle, the whole outlay being repayable in forty years by small annual instalments.

(b) If their means are very limited, the Odessa Committee\* places at their disposal, in one of the labourers' colonies which it has founded in the immediate neighbourhood of the great agricultural centres, small holdings for which repayment can be made in a certain number of years. Such a holding comprises, besides a cottage large enough to house a family, 10 dunams (about 2½ acres) of irrigable land. The produce of this holding assures the holder a certain income, but the cultivation allows him spare time in which either he or his wife or children can work as labourers in the big neighbouring colony.

Finally, colonists already settled who need money, either for continuing their labours or for enlarging

\* This committee is to-day the official representative of the older colonizing associations of various Russian towns.

their holdings, can obtain loans from the Anglo-Palestine Company. But the rate of interest which this Bank must levy for its loans is a burden less easily borne by agriculture than by commerce; and the formation of a special agrarian credit in Palestine would be a great boon for agriculture in general and would give a powerful impetus to Jewish rural colonization in particular.

The question of manual labour in these rural colonies has also received close attention from the principal Jewish organizations. We have already mentioned the labourers' colonies founded by the Odessa Committee. The colonization society "Esra" contributes towards lightening the existence of the Jewish agricultural labourer by building cheap and comfortable homes for the families and "workmen's homes" for the bachelors. But, above all, the Jewish National Fund has taken a most lively interest in this question. In various colonies it has erected "homes" and co-operative kitchens for the bachelors, and cheap houses for the families; it has established farm-schools where the newly-arrived labourers can take a course in practical farm-work; above all, it has encouraged and regulated the return to Palestine of a large number of the Arabian Jews of Yemen.

For a long time the Jews of Arabia had led a happy and prosperous life. But at the opening of the nineteenth century the Arabs began to be hostile to them, and in the course of the last few generations persecutions of all kinds have reduced their community, once large and wealthy, to a tribe numbering some few tens of thousands. Realizing the value that this completely Arabized tribe, accustomed to the climate and very modest in its requirements, might have for our colonizing work, the Jewish National Fund sent representatives to Yemen in order to preach and organize the return of the Jews to Zion. The Yemenites responded to the appeal with great enthusiasm. Within the last ten years six thousand of them have returned

to Palestine, where the Jewish National Fund settles them in the immediate neighbourhood of the great Jewish agricultural centres, each family receiving a small house with a bit of good agricultural soil. The whole family works in the settlement: the men as labourers, the women likewise as labourers or as servants in the colonists' houses, and even the children do light work in the fields. Their various earnings, combined with their income from the small bit of land, ensure a livelihood for the Yemenite's family, and even allow him to save enough to repay to the Jewish National Fund the net cost of his house and of his holding; in fact, the instinct of proprietorship is well developed among the Yemenite Jews, and a large number of them are already owners of their little houses. The Yemenite labourer is usually intelligent and skilful; his mind is very malleable and open to progressive ideas; his physique, sorely tried by his miserable life in Yemen, is visibly improving in Palestine. The Jewish National Fund, by its efforts to settle the Yemenite Jews in Palestine, is accomplishing a task of capital importance for the agricultural development of the country.

We must also note the beneficent activities of the Union of Jewish Women for Cultural Work in Palestine, which has established at Kinnereth, near Lake Tiberias, on lands belonging to the Jewish National Fund, a domestic agricultural school, where Jewish girls are taught to become good farmers' wives.

The forty-five Jewish colonies existing to-day have a population of about 15,000 souls. They cover a total area of 110,000 acres, which represents nearly 2 per cent. of the entire area of Palestine, but 8 to 14 per cent. of its cultivated surface.\* The soil of Palestine is, in fact, very badly utilized; only a very small part is under cultivation. Moreover, east of the Jordan there are immense territories, almost uninhabited, the soil of which is excellent arable land.

\* C. Nawratzki, *op. cit.*

These lands, thanks to the Hedjaz railway which crosses them, possess very good communications with Asia Minor, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea. This country, which to-day contains merely a few hundred thousand inhabitants, supported ten times that number during the first centuries of the Christian era, and was then considered a granary of the Roman Empire. It only needs an industrious and intelligent population in order to recover its pristine fertility, and to regain its old economic importance. The present total population of Palestine is nearly 700,000 souls; this figure represents only 15 per cent. (according to Reclus), or even 10 per cent. (according to Colonel Conder), of the population which it supported in the days of its prosperity.

It will be seen, then, that there is no ground for fearing that by the increase of Jewish immigration we shall ever inconvenience the Arab population; on the contrary, 5,000 Arab labourers are to-day working in the colonies of Judea alone; and the more our settlements grow in number and area, the greater will be the number of Arab labourers who will be able to find in them remunerative employment.

The development of the agricultural colonies depends to a great extent upon the development of the towns in the neighbourhood of which these colonies are situated, for it is the towns which form the only possible market for numerous agricultural products (milk, butter, cheese, eggs, vegetables, certain fruits) which will not keep long, and must therefore be quickly consumed; while for products that will keep for some time the coast towns are the indispensable centres of export. Thus, urban colonization has received from the various Jewish organizations all the encouragement that they were in a position to give.

The twofold economic rôle of the towns, as centres of consumption and of export, cannot be properly fulfilled unless they have a population possessing, on the one hand, sufficient refinement in its material needs

and the financial means for satisfying them; and, on the other hand, enough capital for carrying on trade. But such a population has certain requirements, and among the Jewish middle classes, with whom we are dealing here, these requirements may be summed up under two heads—a comfortable dwelling, and the opportunity of giving their children a good education. Thus, the various Jewish organizations have realized that, to facilitate the immigration of middle-class people desirous of settling in the towns of Palestine, they must direct all their efforts towards securing these two desiderata. Thanks to the support of the Jewish National Fund, which, through the Anglo-Palestine Company, has consented to make them the necessary loans, societies have been formed for the erection of modern quarters in the most important towns. The first and largest of these quarters was founded at Jaffa, and was called “Tel-Aviv”; it presents quite a European picture, and its broad, well-kept streets, and its houses surrounded with little gardens, form a striking contrast to the Arab portion of the town. “Tel-Aviv” means “Hill of Spring”; the whole quarter breathes a spirit of health, order, and joy. A Jewish local administration, entirely autonomous, has enabled the inhabitants to obtain a measure of comfort and hygiene unimaginable in Jaffa itself; and even such details as the periodical inspection of antiseptics, with which barbers are compelled to disinfect their instruments, show the unceasing vigilance of an administration that is solicitous for the welfare of its citizens.

The schools of Tel-Aviv are numerous and well-organized; there are kindergartens and primary schools, a secondary school for girls, a training school for female teachers, a grammar school with 27 teachers and 600 pupils (400 boys, 200 girls), and a school of music with 90 pupils; in all these institutions, without distinction, the language of instruction is Hebrew. There is a public library, together with literary, scien-



tific, musical, and dramatic societies, and a gymnastic club.

Tel-Aviv is growing every day; and similar urban quarters, provided with the same conveniences, are being built in the other large towns, in Jerusalem and Haifa. At Haifa, on the slopes of Mount Carmel, a new quarter is being built round the nucleus formed by the future Jewish Institute for Technical Education in Palestine; while on the Mount of Olives, looking westwards towards the place where once stood the Temple of Solomon, and eastwards towards the Jordan, the Dead Sea and the blue mountains of Moab, the Jewish National Fund recently bought a site on which the Jewish University of Jerusalem will be erected in the very near future.

Thus, the difficulty of giving the children a good education—a consideration so important for members of the “people of the Book”—has already ceased to be an obstacle to the immigration of well-to-do Jewish classes. The existing schools, on the whole, meet even exacting requirements, and in point of fact for some years past a growing number of well-to-do families has come to the towns of Palestine, to swell the valuable element of traders and consumers.

One of the most interesting points about Jewish life in Palestine is the entire administrative autonomy of the colonies. Each of them is administered by a “Waad,” or Council, which represents it in outside relations, and particularly before the authorities of the Ottoman Government, and also directs all its internal affairs. The Council is elected every year by the General Assembly of the inhabitants, the right to vote being exercised by all, men or women, who possess holdings of land registered in their own names in the books of the colony, as well as by all who, without being landowners, have been living in the colony for at least two years and pay taxes regularly. The Council registers owners of

real estate, as well as births, marriages, and deaths. It is assisted in its labours by several committees. A Valuation Committee helps it to distribute among the inhabitants, according to the income and the family burdens of each, the total amount of taxes to be paid to the Government, as well as the internal taxes which are needed to supply the colony's budget. An Education Committee directs the working of the communal schools and of the kindergartens. A Committee of Public Security organizes and supervises the police service; a certain number of colonies, by annual contracts, entrust this service to the force of Jewish watchmen known as "Hashomer." An Arbitration Committee settles the disputes arising between the colonists themselves, and often between the colonists and their Arab neighbours; for it is interesting to observe that the reputation for ability and impartiality of the Jewish arbitrators stands very high among their Arab neighbours. The Council concerns itself with public hygiene, which comprises the maintenance of the doctor, the chemist, and in some cases of the hospital nurse; it administers the water-supply, the public baths, and the upkeep of the streets; it controls the quality of certain necessities of life, such as bread. Special committees deal with questions of charity, etc.

Recognizing the advantages of autonomous local administration, the Jews naturally take upon themselves and faithfully carry out all the duties which this system involves. Nevertheless, among these duties there is more than one that more properly belongs to the central government. Thus, if order and security were better established in the country, the colonies would not have to spend on their rural police service the enormous sums which they devote to it at present. For instance, in Rechoboth, a colony of 900 inhabitants, this service alone costs £1,000 a year. Fortunately for some of their expenses, such as schools, doctor, chemist, and hospital nurse, certain colonies receive

subsidies from the various Jewish organizations which have already been mentioned.

As in the case of the rural police service, the Government's indifference towards sanitary conditions has compelled the Jews themselves to take the necessary measures. In the country the large uncultivated areas and the numerous marshy localities; in the towns the terrible distress of the poor, their unwholesome food and unhealthy houses, and, above all, the absence of suitable drinking-water—these are the factors which play an essential part in the propagation of two great Palestinian scourges, malaria and eye diseases. In order to fight malaria in the settlements, the Jews have planted millions of eucalyptuses, and these trees, through their great power of absorption and evaporation, have brought health to many places that were formerly marshy and uninhabitable. In the towns the Jewish Health Bureau of Jerusalem, maintained by the American philanthropist, Mr. Nathan Straus, and the Society of Jewish Physicians and Naturalists, undertake the struggle against malaria and eye disease; and under the central direction of this institution the local doctors in certain Jewish colonies have undertaken a systematic war against trachoma. Jewish hospitals exist in all the important towns (four at Jerusalem, one at Jaffa, one at Haifa, one at Safed, one at Hebron); at Jerusalem there are an ophthalmic hospital,\* a large house of refuge for the aged, an institute for the blind, and a lunatic asylum. In all colonies of any importance there are a doctor and a chemist, and many of them possess an infirmary.

But there is one domain in which the Jews, perhaps even more than in the cases above-mentioned, have found themselves compelled to carry out works of public utility which should properly have been accomplished by the Government—that is, the improvement of means of communication. In Palestine, where rail-

\* Remarkable services have been rendered by the Christian British Ophthalmic Hospital at Jerusalem.

ways are scarce, much travelling is done by carriage, and goods are transported almost entirely by camel or by waggon, roads form one of the vital nerves of the economic organism of the country. Yet perhaps no question receives so little attention from the Government as the construction and maintenance of these precious means of communication. Since the rapid agricultural development of the Jewish colonies and of the lands which surround them has necessitated the existence of a network of good roads to connect them with one another and with the towns, the Jews have found themselves obliged to undertake the improvement of the existing highways and the construction of new ones. Thus, they have improved and still maintain the road from Jaffa to Tel-Aviv; and at their own expense they have built excellent new highways of macadam, which in Judea connect Rechoboth with Wad-el-Chanin, Wad-el-Chanin with Rishon-le-Zion, Rishon-le-Zion with the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and in Galilee Poriah with Kinnereth, and Rosh-Pinah with the shore of Lake Tiberias.

The general impression which emerges from the facts set forth above seems to be that the Jews, in all their activities in Palestine, have shown themselves to be conscientious and skilful administrators. With limited means, and without any support from the local government—nay, often in the face of its frank ill-will—they have succeeded within a generation in setting up a colonial organization which for the country as a whole is a most powerful leaven of progress. It is true that they may have derived many valuable and instructive hints from the experience of the great colonizing nations of Europe, and that the high average of intelligence and the progressive spirit shown by the farmers and other Jewish immigrants have notably lightened their task; but the grand secret of their success lies in their two-thousand-years-old longing for Zion, in their passionate love for these plains and mountains which saw the growth and flowering-time

of their race, in that fierce idealism which makes them cling to the soil of Palestine, ready to fertilize it with their sweat, and to suffer the direst privations and the cruellest martyrdoms rather than be forced to leave it a second time.

Provided that the Jews are allowed to continue their labours in peace, they will succeed in restoring to Palestine its old prosperity, and even more. They have the necessary will and aptitude; they will find the necessary means. The general economic situation is favourable, and presages a speedy revival for the country; but does the country possess in itself the materials that are indispensable for this revival? We affirm that it does, and the proofs of this statement will form the conclusion of the present study.

#### ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES OF PALESTINE.

Two legends that need refuting are: the barrenness of the soil, and the scarcity of water. The soil of Palestine, to-day as in ancient times, is remarkably fertile for one who takes the trouble to work it. Apart from a few unimportant exceptions, every foot of land may be utilized for agriculture. Along the Mediterranean shore the plains run side by side, each richer than the last. First, in the south, comes the plain of Gaza, where the barley for brewing is better than at any other spot in the world; then, towards the middle part of the coast, round Jaffa, lies the great plain of Sharon, with its soil of mingled clay and chalk, covered with orchards of orange-trees and almond-trees; to the north are the plain of Esdraelon, whose soil, of basaltic origin, rich in humus, is famous as in days of old for its abundant crops of sesame, and the plain of Beisan, famous for its fields of wheat. The mountains of Judea, formerly covered with rich terraced crops, still maintain vineyards and orchards of olive and fig trees; and in the "desert of Judea," which really is a

steppe, numerous flocks of sheep and goats find, even in the dry period of summer, a natural pasturage that suffices for their needs. The Valley of the Jordan, a gigantic natural rift whose southern portion is 1,200 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, owes to this peculiarity a temperature similar to that of Nubia and a very rich tropical flora. Finally, beyond the Jordan there stretch to the south the steppes of Moab, which lose themselves in the Arabian desert; farther to the north the mountains of Gilead, with their forests of oak and pine; and still farther to the north the great fertile table-land of Hauran, renowned for its fields of wheat.

So much for the quality of the soil. As for the moisture necessary for vegetation, a rapid survey of the hydrography of the country will suffice to demonstrate the presence of water in sufficient quantities. The annual average of rain (20 to 28 inches) is equal to that of Central Europe; the difference is that all this quantity of water falls within the space of six months, there being no rain at all between April and October. But this lack of equilibrium has been met since very ancient times by the construction of cisterns for storing the water from winter's rains; and to-day, with modern appliances, it would be possible to construct large dams for the same purpose in all the mountainous parts of the country.

The six rivers of the plain of Sharon and the two of the plain of Esdraelon contain water all the year in the lower portion of their course, while the Jordan and its various tributaries would suffice for the irrigation of all the great valley of the Ghor, which extends for eighty-four miles from Lake Merom to the Dead Sea. Furthermore, numberless little rivulets and springs may profitably be used for agricultural purposes. In the region of Safed the springs are numerous enough to permit of the formation of excellent pasturages and enormous fields of lucerne on the slopes of the mountain; and on the western shore of Lake Tiberias the springs

which gush forth from the mountains supply, free of cost, sufficient quantities of water to cultivate the whole great plain of Medjdel (Magdala) with important colonial plants, such as rice, maize, sugar-cane, and cotton. And what need we say of the great natural reservoir, likewise free of cost, formed by Lake Tiberias itself? Again, in the whole coastal plain one need only dig to a depth of 10 to 80 feet in order to find aquiferous strata which furnish water for irrigation in sufficient quantities; indeed, between Haifa and Gaza a very large number of wells, feeding chain-pumps worked by animal traction or motor-pumps, insure the watering of the orchards and the supply of drinking-water to the towns and villages.

Finally, the dew itself is so abundant during the summer nights that it is equivalent to a light rain, and furnishes the vegetation with enough moisture to ripen the summer crops, to supply the needs of non-watered trees (olives, figs, almonds, vines), and to maintain on the pastures of the "desert of Judea" the grass required by sheep and goats.

Thus, to an impartial scientific examination Palestine reveals itself as a country of great fertility, though this fertility is often latent, and demands certain efforts before it can be called into play. The great differences of height and, above all, of climate in the different parts of the country (Mediterranean climate along the coast, tropical climate in the Jordan Valley) make it possible to cultivate side by side the products of the temperate and of the torrid zones. It is the same with the rearing of domestic animals, which is also susceptible of great development: the Arab thoroughbred, the mule, the caracul sheep of Turkestan, and the ostrich might be bred with considerable profit.

In the sphere of industry the possibilities of development are no less notable. The manufacture of oil and soap is supplied with raw material by the plantations of olives, almonds, and castor-oil plants, and by the cultivation of sesame, ground-nuts, and cotton.

The extraction of essential oils and the manufacture of perfumes will find abundant raw material in orange-peel and lemon-peel, in the blossoms of geraniums, orange-trees, and roses, as well as in those of the spiny acacias, used all over Judea for the construction of quickset hedges, and of the wild thyme which abounds at the foot of the mountains of Judea.

The manufacture of wine, brandy, and raisins is dependent on the cultivation of the vine, and is still susceptible of great development.

Cereals furnish the raw material for milling, starch-making, and the manufacture of macaroni; milling in particular has a future before it, as the country annually consumes £80,000 worth of foreign flour.

Every year Palestine imports, via Jaffa, nearly £80,000 worth of sugar. Now, in the whole coastal plain, and above all in the Jordan Valley, the sugarcane thrives excellently, while the plain of Esdraelon and certain parts of the coastal plain possess very suitable soil for beetroot. Hence the sugar industry seems to possess every chance of success; it would have the great advantage of giving valuable residues as food for cattle (beetroot slices) or as manure (bagasse of cane).

The manufacture of preserves might profitably utilize the olives and the numerous vegetables and fruits of the country; and when the fishing industry acquires the economic importance which is its due in view of the great length of the coastline, the possibility of obtaining fish and olive-oil simultaneously and cheaply will involve the manufacture of fish preserves, the residues of which (fish offal) form an excellent manure, valuable for a country where dung is scanty.

In Palestine, where tobacco grows easily and is of good quality, the cigarette industry should yield at least as good results as in Egypt, where all the tobacco is imported.

Papyrus, which grows wild and in considerable quantities throughout the Jordan Valley, but above all in



its upper portion, might well furnish the raw material for the manufacture of certain very fine kinds of paper.

Jaffa annually imports more than £240,000 worth of woollens, and exports large quantities of sheep's and camel's wool. Cannot the spinning industry find in the country both its raw material and a ready market? Tanning might profitably be developed. Palestine exports a large number of hides, and imports leather. The country itself possesses good tanning materials, such as *Sumach*, *Shinia*,\* and *Acacia mollissima* which the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station has introduced, and the bark of which is rich in tannin of admirable quality.

To pass to a different sphere, the building industry whose importance grows from day to day in consequence of the immigration of the Jews in particular, is certainly destined to make great strides. Already the manufacture of cement stone has acquired a certain importance. The cement which is used is imported from abroad; and yet in Palestine, in favourable spots, we find the material necessary for making cement.\*

The utilization of the mineral wealth of the country might also form the basis of a large number of industrial enterprises. The Dead Sea and the important beds of Hasbeya produce asphalt of a superior quality. Throughout Transjordan, and notably near Es-Salt, we find numerous beds of phosphate. The water of the Dead Sea, which contains 24.46 per cent. of salts, and its deposits, are rich in potassium and bromides. Petroleum probably exists at various points in the country. In the region of Sidon there are strata of iron ore, red and yellow ochre, and coal.\* Important deposits of chalk and plaster exist in the mountains of Judea and the Jordan Valley.

There is one more industry that certainly has a big future before it—if indeed it can be called an industry—and that is the tourist industry. Already the peculiar beauty of Palestine, and its wealth in sanctuaries of

\* D. Trietsch, *op. cit.*

every creed and in important historical monuments, bring to the country between 15,000 and 18,000 visitors every year. But there are many other things besides in Palestine which might attract the foreigner. Along the coast, where the climate is similar to that of the Riviera, several seaside resorts might with advantage be established. The district round Jericho in winter, the shores of Lake Tiberias in spring, the slopes of Carmel and Tabor in summer, form excellent holiday resorts. In the Jordan Valley and on the left shore of Lake Tiberias there are many hot sulphurous springs which possess remarkable curative properties for rheumatic complaints, and are obvious starting-points for the watering-places of the future. As for lovers of the chase, they will find in Palestine varied and abundant game, such as foxes, gazelles, mountain goats, eagles, wild duck, wild pigeons, partridges, teal, and many more. Tourists who visit the East are generally wealthy; so there can be no doubt that a skilful organization of the tourist industry, such as has made the fortune of Switzerland and the Riviera, may become for Palestine a potent source of prosperity.

Before leaving this subject of the industrial possibilities of Palestine, we must say a few words as to the natural power which manufacture and agriculture have at their disposal. The Jordan, with its great differences of level over relatively short distances, develops sufficient power to work enormous turbines. Some of its tributaries, such as the Wadi-Fedjas, which still shows numerous remains of ancient mills, and the Yarmuk, which rushes down from the lofty Djolan tablelands into the Jordan Valley, forming several cataracts of great height and enormous energy, might supply motive power for a large number of factories; the same is true of the rivers of the coastal plain—the Audja, the Nahr-el-Zerka, and the Nahr-el-Litani.

The winds are favourable for the installation of aeromotors; that of the Jewish Agricultural Experi-

ment Station works, on an average, eight hours a day.

From the point of view of artificially generated motive power, the fact that the most important part of the country for economic purposes is a plain running parallel with the coast and of a depth nowhere exceeding fifty miles is peculiarly favourable to the establishment, in the immediate neighbourhood of the ports, of large central power stations, which by suitable communications would distribute motive power over the whole country. These stations, worked by steam or motor engines, would find their most certain customers in the innumerable orchards and irrigated fields which a few years hence will probably cover the coastal plain. As for the necessary fuel, these stations, being situated along the coast, will be able to procure it easily from abroad; but they might also find it in the coal strata which exist in the country, or in the coarse and otherwise useless straw of sesame, or in the timber of the forests of eucalyptus which the Jewish settlers have planted, and will continue to plant, in every part of Palestine; they might also make profitable use of the important layers of peat in the plain which surrounds Lake Merom, or, by a process of briquettes similar to that employed in the Soudan,\* utilize the papyrus and other aquatic plants which grow wild, in enormous quantities, all along the Jordan Valley.

The agricultural and economic development of Palestine will necessarily be accompanied by a considerable growth of commerce, for which the situation of the country makes it eminently fitted. The possibilities of commercial development need not be discussed here in detail. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to mention the great importance of Palestine for the linking up of the routes of communication between Europe, Asia, and Africa by the construction of a connecting line between the Bagdad and the Cape-to-Cairo railways. There is,

\* D. Trietsch, *op. cit.*

in fact, no doubt that at no distant date we shall see Palestine become an important centre for goods and passenger traffic between the three continents of the Old World. This rôle, which was the main factor in the great prosperity and power of the ancient empires of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia, cannot fail to become a source of progress and wealth for the ancient land of Israel.

But for the realization of all these aims it is essential that the present administrative chaos should give place to a modern system of government inspired by no other consideration than the welfare of the country. The efforts of private initiative must be assisted and encouraged by such measures of reform as we have a right to expect from any conscientious Government, such as the creation of accurate land registers, of an agrarian bank, of chambers of commerce, agriculture and industry, and of a uniform currency for the whole country;\* the construction of convenient harbours and warehouses in the principal towns of the coast; the improvement of the existing roads and the construction of new ones; the establishment, in place of the present tithes, which inflict a crushing burden on gross produce and prevent intensive agriculture, of a rational and equitable system of land-taxes; a radical reform of the law courts and police, so that they may become capable of insuring effective justice and security in the country; the promulgation and execution of modern laws as regards mortgages and transfers of property; and the institution of bounties for agriculture and industry.

Still more essential than all these reforms and new departures, in order that the remarkable economic possibilities of the country may be fully exploited, is the immigration of an intelligent and industrious population, which would come to Palestine not in order to

\* At present the coins issued by the Government have different values in the various towns of Palestine, and the difference in some cases amounts to 20 per cent.

make money and then go away again, but in order, at one and the same time, to gain its own subsistence and contribute to the economic progress of the country. This fusion of interests, or, rather, this subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the country, presupposes a lofty idealism, and can only be demanded from a people which looks upon it not as a sacrifice, but as an act of love and of self-emancipation. There is only one such people, and that is the Jewish people.

## CULTURAL WORK IN PALESTINE

BY DR. SELIG BRODETSKY

THERE is one phase of Zionist activity that cannot but enlist the sympathy of all Jews. To many nationalist thinkers the most important, if not the sole, object of the revival of Jewish national life is to provide a Jewish cultural centre, where, under the auspices of a normal national and economic development, Jewish thought may have the opportunity of evolving, free from the embarrassment of an aggressively alien environment. To these men the revival of Hebrew as a living language, and the spread of a knowledge of the fruits of Jewish thought, must form the most significant part of their programme of nationalist activity. But even to those who take a more materialistic view of Jewish national needs, Jewish educational work cannot be a matter of indifference. A nation cannot be said to enjoy a really national life if there are missing from its corporate activities those imponderable elements that constitute the spiritual symbol of a common nationality.

But not only to the convinced Zionist will Jewish cultural work appeal as a welcome phase of the renovated Jewish life in Palestine. Jews of all shades of political thought concerning the future of the race will join in hailing the spiritual revival that such activity betokens. It is recognized that without some safeguard Jewry as such can hardly continue to exist. The stress of modern life will ever tend to emphasize the value and importance of our adopting, at least as individuals, those general forms and modes of life that are held to constitute the symbol of European civiliza-

tion. In this process of assimilation, whether voluntary or forced, Jewish distinctiveness must suffer, and the very existence of Jewry as such be jeopardized; and the time is long past when such a national calamity would be hailed as bearing testimony to the justice of our claims to political emancipation.

It is for this reason that Zionist work in the cultural field has acquired the special importance now attributed to it. We recognize that the founding of a school in Palestine means more than the educating of a certain number of children of our colonists there. Such an event is symbolical of the far wider and immeasurably greater task before us of self-education in all the lands of the Dispersion. The Hebrew language as spoken by our youth in Palestine is not an ordinary assemblage of words used for the purpose of conveying certain meanings and intentions, but is rather symbolical of our national regeneration and of promise for future national and racial stability.

In using the term "Jewish colonists," we are apt to confuse our pioneers on the soil of the Holy Land with pioneers in other lands. We are forced to make use of the only term available, and so we are constrained to employ one that is misleading, and sometimes even mischievous to our best national interests. A colonial pioneer is understood to be a man who seeks new shores for the purpose of discovering new material and economic wealth, such as is denied him at home. Almost without exception colonies have been founded from purely economic or political motives. Hence the tendency, even among Zionists, to pay more than due regard to the merely economic aspects of Palestinian colonization. It would, of course, be foolish to suggest that this colonization should be conducted on other than the soundest economic and political principles. Disaster would follow if we paid no attention, or inadequate attention, to the special needs and economic rules of such a colonial evolution. But as Jews we have in view more than the mere founding of a few

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agricultural settlements. To us the colonies mean spiritual survival.

It follows that the Palestinian colonies automatically and instinctively assumed the national garb, which has distinguished them from all other Jewish colonial efforts, be it in South Russia, Canada, or the Argentine. Whereas the latter were significant only in so far as they provided congenial and profitable employment for so many victims of Eastern European aggressive intolerance, the former gained in national significance to the extent that they were developed on the traditional Jewish combination of economic and cultural values.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that all Hebrew education in Palestine is Zionist in origin. Such is far from being the case. It is, in fact, one of the proud boasts of the Zionist movement that involuntarily, and often after much opposition, some of the various Jewish educational agencies in the Orient have seen themselves constrained to depart from a policy which they had deliberately adopted, but which has now to a certain extent given way to one more in accordance with Jewish ideals. Let us trace in broad outline the development of Jewish educational institutions in Palestine.

During the last third of a century there has been an unprecedented Jewish immigration into Palestine. Life in the Diaspora had become such a physical and mental torment that every pious Jew looked forward, more than ever before, to ending his days, if not in material ease and actual peace, at least in an atmosphere of spirituality and religion in the land of his fathers. Numbers went to Jerusalem after having reached a mature old age, to weep at the Wailing Wall not only over the national disasters with which this wall is associated, but also over the perpetual state of general and individual despair that is still the lot of Jewry in many lands. Several of these older men and women brought with them their families, trusting to



the proverbial benevolence of Jewry, and to the traditional love for Palestine shared by every member of their people, to keep them from starvation. To the honour of Jewry be it said that their expectations were more than realized. It is at any rate pleasant to think that no self-respecting family in Israel refused to lend a helping hand to their brethren in the Holy Land. Incidentally, of course, one obvious consequence followed—the pauperization of a large population; but the donors meant well.

Meanwhile French and English organizations had been founded for protecting the interests of Jewry in the troubled Orient and in North Africa. In France the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* made it its duty to care for the material and especially the spiritual welfare of Jewry in the lands under its survey. Schools were founded in many towns of North Africa and Asia Minor. In particular, the *Alliance* undertook to care for the poor immigrant Jews of Palestine, especially of the larger towns like Jerusalem and Haifa. In 1881 a boys' school was opened in the latter town, and one in Jerusalem in the following year, both under the auspices of the *Alliance*. As will be seen in the sequel, the *Alliance* now has as many as fourteen schools and kindergartens in the towns of Palestine.

But although philanthropy was the real motive of the school policy of the *Alliance*, their desire being purely "to help our poor brethren in the East," yet a distinct tendency was noticeable, governing and moulding the educational programme of their schools. For the upper classes of Western Jewry, and to a certain extent for the middle classes also, there is one thing, and one thing only, that can save us, either as a whole or sectionally, and that is Western education. Up to a certain point this view is no doubt correct. For if the poor Jews of Palestine are to compete for the small measure of commerce and industry available in the Near East, then Western languages are a necessary, an indispensable part of their education. But if this idea

is given free and unlimited scope, then there is a danger that other and harmful elements will come into play.

One of the evil consequences of our dispersion is that we are led to adopt different and often opposing standards of what should constitute a Western education. English Jews emphasize the value of the English language, literature and ideals, while French Jews desire to adopt the language, literature, and ideals of France, and German Jews, of Germany, etc. Thus it came to pass that when the *Alliance* determined to educate Palestinian Jewry in the light of Western standards, it was French standards and French culture that it had particularly in mind. Its schools were modelled on French models, and the Jewish youth of Palestine were trained to be good Frenchmen. \*

Eleven years after the formation of the *Alliance* English Jewry founded a similar organization for the safeguarding of the interests of helpless Jews in the Near East—the Anglo-Jewish Association. It was not long before the Anglo-Jewish Association undertook educational work, principally in North Africa. In 1898 it took over the Evelina de Rothschild Girls' School in Jerusalem, where naturally English became the language of tuition.

Meanwhile, other factors were beginning to influence the educational ideals of Palestinian Jews. Concurrently with the immigration into the towns of many thousands of old men and women, another immigration had begun into the newly founded colonies. The men and women who built up the agricultural settlement (the *Yishub*) had other desires than the ending of their days on hallowed soil. They came as pioneers of the *Chibbath Zion* movement, and later as enthusiasts of the newly founded Zionist movement. They came to live, and not to die. They consequently pos-

\* It should be mentioned, however, that the important agricultural school *Mikveh-Israel* is now under a director who is in sympathy with the ideals of Palestinian Jewry, and is bringing the school into harmony with those ideals.

sessed different notions as to the education of their youth from those of the *Alliance* or the Anglo-Jewish Association, and an educational movement of a different character was produced. The colonies managed after a time to free themselves from the influence of the philanthropic spirit that governed the policy of the *Alliance*, the Anglo-Jewish Association, and other such bodies—a spirit that, with the best intentions in the world, could not but impede the successful development of economically and culturally independent colonial effort. The colonists discovered that Westernism was not incompatible with Jewish cultural separatism—that, in fact, the lasting value of European civilization lay in the way in which it had worked up into one system the results achieved by the exponents of the most varied intellectual and moral ideas. Thus the elementary schools in the colonies were established on the principle of Hebrew as a living language. The children were taught to express all their thoughts, all their desires and emotions, in the national tongue. At their work and at their play they were encouraged to make use of Hebrew as their means of communication. The old-fashioned view that Hebrew, being the holy language, was therefore not to be desecrated by being employed for other than religious purposes, gave way to the more modern and more rational view that a language is desecrated by disuse and neglect, that the tongue of a people is “holy” when it is used to express the every-day acts and wants and ideals of the people.

This new spirit was bound to exert some influence even on the adherents of the Western policies of the *Alliance* and the Anglo-Jewish Association. It is true that the former remained on the whole unaffected; but the Evelina School soon found itself following in the wake of the new national movement; and although it would be too much to say that the Anglo-Jewish Association has made Hebrew the language of instruction in the school under its care, it is nevertheless true that it has already moved some considerable distance

in this direction. However, it was reserved for a different Western European organization to be most profoundly influenced by the spirit of the *Yishub*.

The Jews of Germany did not long remain behind their English and French brethren as regards philanthropic activity in the East. The *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* soon entered the field, and, like its sister organizations, it has worked enthusiastically in the cause of Jewish education in Palestine. Although the *Hilfsverein* did not commence its activities till towards the beginning of the present century, it has nevertheless quite eclipsed its rivals—if such a term may be used in reference to bodies that are in essence doing the same work, and with the same motives. The *Hilfsverein* now controls or assists no fewer than fifteen educational establishments in Jerusalem and four in Jaffa, besides several in the Jewish colonies. But, in spite of the fact that the *Hilfsverein*, like the *Alliance* and the Anglo-Jewish Association, took up its work with the object of endowing its pupils with Western—in its case, of course, German—culture, and has, in fact, made every endeavour to push its own particular view of what a Palestinian child must be taught in order to equip it for taking a successful part in the universal struggle for existence (as will soon be shown), yet the German body has more than the English or French organization yielded to the spirit of Hebrew idealism. Perhaps it was due to the fact that the *Hilfsverein* only began its work when the movement in favour of Hebrew was fairly well developed, so that practical considerations dictated the adoption, as the language of instruction, of that tongue which had become so obviously the natural medium of the children it wanted to cater for. In any case, it is to be counted a remarkable triumph of the national spirit in Palestine that the *Hilfsverein* schools have been practically Hebrew schools from their foundation.

The significance of this result cannot be overrated. It was not the policy of the *Hilfsverein* that led it to

lay special emphasis upon the value of the Hebrew language. On the surface, policy seemed to point in quite the other direction. As already remarked, the Jews of Western Europe have always been prone to regard the "Westernization" of Jewry as the panacea for all our evils. Yet no other course was open to the *Hilfsverein*. Spontaneously, one may almost say unexpectedly, the evolution of Palestinian Jewry took the form of a return to the ancient national medium of spiritual exchange. It may even lead to a misunderstanding of the nature of our present national revival, if we insist upon the idea of a "return" to Hebrew culture. No such return is possible, because there has never been a departure. Self-conscious Jewry never doubted of its mission, never forgot its spiritual duties. The events of many centuries certainly did tend to diminish the paramount influence of our traditional views, and to weaken the hold of our national aspirations. But no sooner did a section of conscious Jewry free itself from the effects of the centuries of physical and spiritual serfdom than the inevitable happened, and the Hebrew tongue and the Hebrew consciousness came once more into its own.

The wave of enthusiasm that swept over Jewry, especially the more self-conscious Jewries of Russia, when the Zionist Organization came into being, soon led to the establishment of numerous educational and cultural institutions in Palestine. The most famous is the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem. Founded in 1905 by Professor Boris Schatz, the Bezalel has already acquired an immense and well-deserved popularity. It seems that in this age of commercialism it is only natural that an institution that develops industry at the same time as it educates should enjoy a popularity denied to others less obviously useful. Non-Zionists, even anti-nationalists, have hailed with enthusiasm the achievements of Professor Schatz; and the Bezalel Exhibitions held in this country, in London and in the more important provincial Jewish communities,

received the enthusiastic and gratifying support of the whole of Anglo-Jewry, irrespective of individual opinion on the merits or demerits of the Zionist movement and the national ideal, to which the Bezalel really owes its initiation. This is but another illustration of the unlimited future promise that characterizes the ideal of a healthy and independent Hebrew-speaking settlement in Palestine. Involuntarily every Jew welcomes the practical achievements due to the "cultural centre," forgetting for the moment any theoretical objections he may have to urge against Jewish nationalism as such.

Another triumph of the Hebrew spirit in Palestine was the foundation of the Hebrew *Gymnasium* (Secondary School) in Jaffa. In 1906 an association of teachers was formed in Palestine, with the title "Agudath haGymnasia," which made it its aim to establish a Hebrew Secondary School. The undertaking was a very bold one. The fundamental idea was that all the teaching should be carried on in the national tongue. Yet the necessary experience requisite for the successful inauguration of such a scheme was lacking, and there were no textbooks at all available. In many of the subjects there was not even a suitable terminology. But the difficulties were overcome, and within a few months the work was commenced. The teachers undertook the onerous task of preparing their own books for the purpose, and very soon it became obvious that the *Gymnasium* was assured of a phenomenal success. The first two classes were opened in 1907 with less than 100 pupils. In 1914 the *Gymnasium* had increased to eight classes, in addition to four preparatory and five other classes. The number of pupils on the roll reached 700. As already mentioned, all subjects, except languages, are taught in Hebrew. No religious instruction is given as such, but special attention is paid to the Bible and the Talmud. Secular subjects, like mathematics, natural science, general and commercial geography, etc., are included in the curriculum, whilst, in accordance with the needs of

the country, German, French, Turkish, and Arabic are also taught. The higher part of the teaching is divided into two sections, corresponding to the modern and classical sides of English schools. The leaving certificate has been recognized as equivalent to University matriculation in several European countries as well as in America, and a year ago (1914) twenty-three pupils were awarded this certificate, and several have been admitted to University institutions in Constantinople, Berlin, Paris, and New York. The success of the *Jaffa Gymnasium* has led to the foundation of a similar school in Jerusalem, whilst the Orthodox section of the Zionists—the “Mizrachi”—established in Jaffa the *Tachkemoni*, which is a higher-grade school on a religious basis.

It has already been remarked that the chief difficulty in the establishment of the *Jaffa Gymnasium* was the lack of textbooks and suitable terminologies. This has led to the formation of the “*Merkas haMorim*,” or Union of Hebrew Teachers, which includes all the Hebrew teachers in Palestine, except those of the *Alliance*, and has its headquarters at Jaffa. The aim of the *Merkas* is to develop Hebrew education on sound lines. The rapid increase in the vogue of Hebrew as a medium of ordinary conversation, as well as of pedagogy, makes it of fundamental importance to exercise a rigid control over the introduction of the requisite new terms and phrases. The great work of standardizing the language has been undertaken by the *Va'ad haLashon*, which is carrying out functions similar to those of the French Academy. Much has already been achieved, the greatest credit being due to Elieser ben Jehuda, a pioneer of Hebrew speaking in Jerusalem. His monumental *Millon* (dictionary)—*Thesaurus totius hebraicitatis*—which is being published in parts in Berlin, is an exhaustive and authoritative lexicon of all Hebrew words and expressions collected from ancient and medieval literature. In addition to its intrinsic value as a dictionary, the

*Millon* is serving as a sure guide in the work of the expansion of the language. It is, of course, easily appreciated that a language that has for so many centuries been divorced from practical life must lack many words and phrases, rendered requisite by modern thought and modern science and technology. This deficiency must be made good, but it is also necessary to take into account the special modes and forms of the language. The authority already enjoyed by the *Millon* and the activities of the *Va'ad haLashon* (language board) are serving to insure that no violence is done to the spirit of Hebrew by the new introductions. The task of compiling scientific and technical terminologies is being rapidly pursued under the auspices of the *Va'ad*. The *Merkas haMorim* has special charge of the pedagogical section of this work, and it issues the pedagogical journal *haChinuch* (Education). The influence of the *Merkas* is felt in several directions, and to it has been entrusted the important duty of appointing the teachers of the elementary schools in the colonies.

The success that attended the efforts of the founders of the Bezalel and the secondary schools at Jaffa and elsewhere, suggested the more ambitious project of establishing a Jewish Polytechnical Institute in Palestine. It was felt that in order to complete the educational equipment of Palestinian Jewry, it was necessary to found a college, which should provide the pupils of the secondary schools with the requisite higher technical education, so that they might become useful workers in the newly established Jewish community. The nucleus of a fund for this purpose came out of a large bequest left by a Russian Jewish philanthropist, Wolf Wissotzky, for Jewish public purposes. The Wissotzky trustees allotted £20,000 to the foundation of a technical institute in Palestine; Mr. Jacob Schiff, of New York, gave £20,000; and the *Hilfsverein* £15,000; while the Jewish National Fund contributed £4,000, purchasing a suitable site for the



building in Haifa. By smaller contributions a sum of nearly £3,000 was also collected for the so-called Technicum, and a Curatorium was appointed to carry the design into practice. Since the *Hilfsverein* had shown a great interest in the scheme, and also in deference to the expressed desire on the part of one of the principal donors, the managers of the Technicum were, in effect, the governing body of the *Hilfsverein*.

This arrangement had quite unforeseen and serious consequences. It gave rise, in fact, to the only really great conflict that there has been in Palestine between the two sections into which modern Jewry is divided, the Nationalists and the Assimilationists. It seems that the *Hilfsverein* repented of having given way to the Hebraic spirit in shaping its school policy. The German school directors decided to combat the domination of Hebrew, and insisted upon the substitution of German in the place of Hebrew as the language of instruction in certain subjects. Several of the teachers in the *Hilfsverein* schools refused to carry out this order, and a bitter conflict arose. Headed by Mr. David Yellin, the well-known Jerusalem authority on Hebrew education, the teachers left the schools, in company with many of their pupils, and decided to open new schools in order the better to give effect to their desire to safeguard the interests of the national language.

The *Hilfsverein* went further in its determination to break the entente that had grown up between the nationalists and the German philanthropic organization. At the meeting of the Curatorium of the Technicum, held in Berlin on October 26, 1913, at which the American members were not present, it was resolved that, whilst the Technicum was to aid in the fostering of the Hebrew language, there was nevertheless to be no official language; and that in the secondary school attached to the Technicum, as well as in the main institution when it should come into being, the natural sciences and technical subjects were to be taught in German. The nationalist members of the

Curatorium—Achad Ha'am, Dr. Schmaryah Levin, and Dr. E. W. Tschlenoff—thereupon resigned.

When this decision became known a wave of indignation passed over the whole of nationalist Jewry; in particular, the Jewish youth of Palestine saw in this act on the part of the German members of the Curatorium a set-back to the hopes that the scheme had raised for the future development of Hebrew. Yellin and his secessionist followers received the official support of the Zionist organization, which, in addition to its former burdens, undertook to find the necessary funds for the carrying on of the new schools. Although many thought that this action on the part of the Actions Committee was too precipitate, and perhaps impolitic, Zionists and other nationalists gave considerable support to Yellin and his associates. A teachers' seminary and a boys' school were opened in Jerusalem, another school in Jaffa, and one in Haifa, all on the principle of the exclusive use of Hebrew.

On February 22, 1914, a new meeting of the Curatorium was held, thanks mainly to the good offices of the American members, and a compromise was made. Perhaps it will be best to quote in full that part of the adopted resolution which has special reference to the language question. It ran thus:

“(a) Mathematics and physics shall be taught in Hebrew from the outset.

“(b) The new contracts to be made with the teachers (of the Technicum as well as of the secondary school attached to it) shall contain a clause whereby they undertake to have acquired a competent knowledge of Hebrew four years after their appointment.

“(c) At the end of the first course of four years the Curatorium shall meet in order to decide which subjects shall, in accordance with the development of the Hebrew language and Hebrew pedagogical methods, be taught in that language.”

The quarrel thus seemed to have been settled, when the European War broke out. The further history of

the Technicum seems to be shrouded in mystery. No definite statement can be made until peace has restored the normal means of communication with Germany. It may be hoped that the cessation of hostilities will see the realization of the project in the spirit of the national revival.

Jewish cultural activity in Palestine has culminated in a proposal that puts into the shade all that has been hitherto accomplished or proposed. It has long been felt that Judaism needs a Hebrew educational centre, on the lines of European Universities, which shall form the rallying centre of all national spiritual effort. After so much had been undertaken and carried to fruition, the bolder spirits began to speculate on the chances of success of this most ambitious of all schemes. At the Eleventh Congress, held at Vienna in 1913, the foundation of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem was definitely proposed and approved. It need hardly be said that great enthusiasm greeted this decision of the Zionists. Munificent promises of support were soon forthcoming, and the first steps were taken to give effect to the will of the Congress. This is not the place for a detailed account of the development and progress of the Jewish University scheme. Suffice it to say that much of the preparatory work in connection with the scheme had been done, when the outbreak of war put a stop to the work, we hope only temporarily.

In this brief account of the development of the Hebraic spirit in Palestine we must necessarily limit ourselves to what may be considered the most significant evidences of the progress made and promised. In order to do a measure of justice to the various organizations that have contributed to this work, we append a short summary of all the Jewish educational institutions now in existence in Palestine. Classified under the respective organizations to which they owe their initiation, they are as follows:

## 1. INSTITUTIONS OF THE NEW TYPE.

1. *Elementary Schools in the Colonies.*—The language of instruction is Hebrew, but Arabic is taught, and in some cases French. The schools are subventioned by Baron de Rothschild (through the Jewish Colonization Association), but are controlled entirely by the colonists. Teachers are appointed by the Teachers' Union, for which see 8 below.

2. *The Bezalel* was founded in 1905 by Professor Boris Schatz, who aimed at the creation of a distinctively Jewish style of art. It is a school as well as a workshop, and in its eight departments—carpet-weaving, filigree, copper-ware, carpentry, lace, metal-work, ivory-carving, and lithography—over 500 workmen and pupils are employed. In 1913 the products of the Bezalel realized more than £12,000, of which £6,000 was paid in wages. It is assisted by the Jewish National Fund as well as by individuals. A colony of Bezalel workmen and women do carpet-weaving and filigree-work at Ben-Shamen, near Lydda. The commercial side of the Bezalel was reorganized recently.

3. *The Jaffa Gymnasium* is a secondary school where a complete secondary education, including chemistry, physics, Latin, French, and German, besides Turkish and Arabic, is given. All subjects except languages are taught in Hebrew. Although special attention is paid to Bible and Talmud, no religious instruction is given as such. Boys and girls are taught together. The number of pupils on the register was as follows: 1907—under 100; 1910—193; 1911—260; 1913—514; 1914—700. The annual outlay is over £4,000, of which nearly the whole is derived from fees. The building was presented by Alderman Moser, of Bradford, who is also a munificent supporter. The *Gymnasium* forms the central point of the Hebrew suburb of Jaffa, Tel Aviv.

4. *The Jerusalem Gymnasium* was established in

1909 on the same lines as the Jaffa *Gymnasium*, but is more "orthodox" in spirit. It has 120 pupils, and is steadily growing.

5. *The Tachkemoni* at Jaffa is a Hebrew higher-grade school founded in 1909 on a religious basis by the "Mizrachi," the orthodox section of the Zionists. It had 196 pupils in 1912.

6. *The Girls' School (Beth Sepher leBanoth)* at Jaffa is a Hebrew secondary school founded in 1893, and rebuilt in 1909. It is supported by the Odessa Committee. It had 410 pupils in 1910.

7. *Institutions of the Union of Jewish Women for Cultural Work in Palestine*.—This organization, founded in 1907, has lace-making schools at Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tiberias, and Safed, where 400 women and girls are taught and employed. The Union also has a farm school at Kinnereth, near Tiberias, where fourteen girls are being trained in poultry and dairy farming, etc., and supports the hospitals in Haifa and Jaffa. It spent £2,500 in 1913.

8. *The Union of Hebrew Teachers (Merkas haMorim)* aims at the development of Hebrew education on sound lines, and at the standardization of new Hebrew words and expressions. It includes all Hebrew teachers in Palestine except those of the *Alliance*, and has its headquarters at Jaffa. The Hebrew pedagogical journal *haChinuch* is published by the Union, which is subventioned by the Odessa Committee.

9. *Talmud Torahs* (Hebrew day schools) have been founded in the larger colonies for the purpose of giving an education with a more pronounced religious colouring. They are supported by the *Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums*.

2. PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS.

1. *The Alliance Israélite Universelle* has the following schools in Palestine :

Locality.	Nature of School.	When Founded.	Number of Pupils.
Jerusalem ..	Boys'	1882	290, 187 free
	Girls'	1906	275, 109 „
	Manual	1882	—
Jaffa.. ..	Boys'	1892	154, 61 „
	Manual	1905	22
Haifa ..	Boys'	1881	220, 80 „
	Girls'	1895	172, 60 „
	Manual	1888	12
Mikveh Israel	Agricultural	1870	72
Safed ..	Boys'	1897	75, 46 free
	Girls'	1907	171, 151 „
	Manual	1898	9
Tiberias ..	Boys'	1897	98, 60 „
	Girls'	1900	187, 124 „

The *Alliance* spends about £6,000 a year. The atmosphere in the schools is predominantly French.

2. *The Anglo-Jewish Association* took over in 1898 the *Evelina de Rothschild School*, which was founded in 1880. In 1913-14 the school had 676 pupils. Lace-making is taught as well as the ordinary elementary subjects. About half of the instruction is in Hebrew, the normal language of the pupils. The school costs over £2,000 a year.

3. *The Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* supports and manages the following schools, as summarized in the first table on p. 188.

The *Hilfsverein* also subventions other schools and classes, some in the colonies. It spends £8,000 a year on education in Palestine.

Locality.	Nature of School.	Number of Pupils.
Jerusalem ..	Kindergartens (3)	414
	To train Kindergarten teachers	23
	Girls'	398
	Boys' (Lämelschule)	342
	Teachers' seminary	70
	Commercial	33
Jaffa .. ..	Girls' Home	51
	Kindergartens (3)	339
Haifa .. ..	Boys'	140
	Kindergarten	62
Safed .. ..	Middle	64
	Kindergarten	145
Tiberias ..	Boys'	46
	Kindergarten	87

The following figures will also be of interest. They relate to the proportion of school-children to the Jewish population in the chief towns and in the principal colonies:

Locality.	Number of School-children.	Jewish Population.
Jerusalem .. ..	7,348	60,000
Jaffa .. ..	2,276	10,000
Haifa .. ..	580	2,800
Safed .. ..	1,020	10,000
Tiberias .. ..	752	8,000
Petach Tikvah .. ..	500	2,000
Zichron Jacob .. ..	250	935
Rishon-le-Zion .. ..	300	1,000
Rechoboth .. ..	150	600

Except where otherwise stated, the figures refer to the year 1912.

It will be noticed that the colonies and the more modern Jewish communities of Jaffa and Haifa are

much better provided for educationally than the older and more backward towns like Safed and Tiberias.

That Hebrew as a living language has come to stay—that, in fact, Hebrew is well on the way to becoming the mother-tongue of Palestinian Jewry—is rendered obvious by the facts and figures here quoted. Much yet remains to be done. Great efforts will be required in order to repair the ravage done in Palestine by the destroying spirit let loose in Europe. But what has already been accomplished is sufficient indication of what the Jewish people can achieve, with reasonable opportunities, in the Promised Land.



## THE MEANING OF A HEBREW UNIVERSITY

BY BERTRAM B. BENAS.

A JEWISH University in Jerusalem has been for long the dream of the few—in no distant time to become a reality for the many. Not merely for the many who may throng its halls and libraries and schools, but for all Israel. It is for all Israel that a University in Jerusalem will be built, and therefore the raising of the structure is not the sphere of any part or party of the Jewish people, but of the whole people. Other universities in general are the work of groups of founders, knit together either by ecclesiastical or local or politically-national ties, or by an abstract educational, quasi-eleemosynary link. But the raising of a University inspired by the consciousness of an historic nationhood, and the appeal for its support to and from Jewries the world over—Jewries which have been sundered from the land-source of their spiritual heritage by force or by emancipation, or by both—constitute an objective and an endeavour on behalf of a people and of ideals to which history supplies no parallel—a veritable labour of love, but no light task, for the intrepid and dauntless builders of Zion. Perhaps the nearest approach to a parallel is to be found in those Celtic territories of the United Kingdom, across the Marches and across the Sea, which have either preserved or endeavoured to revive their national languages, and in which the demand for a “nationalized” University finds expression in a form bearing some similarity to that which characterizes the project of a Jewish University in Jerusalem.

While the consciousness of a specific cultural life is at

the root of the movement, none the less obvious are the far-reaching services which a University in Jerusalem could perform for the regeneration of Palestine. The possibilities are boundless, if to the services rendered to Palestine there is added, having in mind the immense resources of intellectual force to which the University might appeal, the world-wide scope of its radiating beneficent influence, for the apparent materialism of this local aspect of University work is an idealized materialism, charged with the service and progress of humanity. University work of this kind has often been commenced in anticipation of the establishment of a great seat of learning. The medical and engineering schools, the schools of law and science, in many English cities, were the outposts of the modern English University movement, and their territories ultimately became incorporated within the area of the University, and constituted welcome settlements of already developed activities. The nucleus of such academic territories Palestine already enjoys. The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, the Hygienic Institute, the Agricultural Experiment Station, the Technical Schools, the Musical Academies, and the National Library, all constitute centres from which in one form or another could be drawn the integral elements of a University system; and their specific work would not be rendered less individual by their union with an Academic Foundation which, while allowing the fullest elasticity, would co-ordinate the work of each for the benefit of all. Co-ordination in these circumstances would tend towards a fuller development of the introductory educational institution.

It can thus be seen that education is well considered in Palestine, and there are already amply equipped schools. It is perhaps through the existing educational institutions of the country that the University project will first take definite form. For even if contingencies rendered it unlikely that the project would be capable of immediate realization on a large scale,

some beginning could be made by way of co-ordinating the educational, scientific, and general cultural forces which are already in full activity. These centres in themselves can serve as the basis for the foundation of a Jewish Academy, which might well constitute the developed organization from which the larger University could evolve.

The practical value of the University for Palestine will be at once apparent to all in its potentialities for providing the land with the men of science necessary to develop its resources, for the higher education of the inhabitants, for the equipment of its medical service and its legal system, and at least in part for the adequate training of its teachers. But the University will have a wider significance for the whole of Jewry. The vitality of Jewry depends upon the strengthening of the links in its chain, and the strengthening of the links depends upon reclaiming the narrowed reach of the Jewish hold. For the widening of the Jewish hold until it extends to the entire sphere of a Jewish civilization, a Jewish culture, and a Jewish life, a Jewish University, and a Jewish University in Jerusalem, would be the natural centre of radiating energy and effort. Nothing but a living, active centre of far-reaching Jewish expression will bring before the minds of many among those of the Jewish people whose recognition of the range of Jewry as an entity has become limited and reduced, the fact that Jewry stands for a consistent, complete, and progressive culture, possessing a clear and definite outlook and based on a tradition which provides the machinery for its progressive adaptation to the developments of humanity.

The difficulties of dogmatic differences are likely to be raised as an objection to the foundation of the University. But as soon as it is realized that it is not the work of the University to take the place of a *Yeshibah* (Talmudical College), it will become obvious that the University should not trespass within the

zones of possible conflict. The existence of distinctive *Yeshiboth* for Ashkenazim\* and Sephardim † affords sufficient occasion for the University to declare its recognition of the fact that it possesses no right to take the place of either, but that it enjoys equally with the *Yeshiboth* a claim to independent individuality and a claim to support in its own sphere from both. This is not subversive of tradition—it accords with tradition. It leaves full scope to the traditional institution of the *Yeshibah* to carry on its appointed work. The institutions are complementary, not overlapping, nor competitive.

The publication in recent years of the Jewish Encyclopedia serves in many ways to clear the path for the consideration of the purpose of a Jewish University and the methods by which that purpose could be achieved. Published in a country where traditionalism cannot be said to be in the ascendant, although it is ascending, the endeavour has been made therein to present a unanimous statement of Jewish fact and thought where unanimity prevails, and where unanimity does not obtain, the views of representative exponents of the various points of view are carefully collected and put before the reader. Such an analogy is not intended to suggest that similar methods might be adopted in the teaching of the University; but it does illustrate the fact that there are wide ranges of Jewish scholarship untouched by dogmatic controversy, which allow the efforts of a united Jewry to promote their advancement. The Jewish Encyclopedia serves a larger and higher purpose. It bears testimony to the breadth of Jewishness—the human scope of Jewish culture, the immense sweep of its radiating influence. No mere object of dogma, no mere history of sect, no mere record of denomina-

\* The Jewry adopting the liturgical rite prevailing in general in Northern and North-Central Europe.

† The Jewry adopting the liturgical rite generally prevailing in various forms in Mediterranean countries.

tionalism, but a history of life and of living, of human effort, of human achievement, and of human aspiration. This is what can be gained from inanimate books, books that breathe the spirit of life. How much more could be drawn from a living centre of thinking Jewish humanity, to which the Jewish people once again could turn for the inspiration of their own consciousness, to which they can point to the outer world as a symbol of the spirit of Jewry !

That a Jewish University in Palestine should succeed, it requires no extreme degree of optimism to predict—a prediction which can be based on the observations of the constituent elements essential for the success of the existing modern Universities. The modern University movement has shown that it is the human element which has the impressive power. Brilliant and learned scholars as professors, together with enthusiastic and aspiring students, are the first necessity. The conditions of University life in Central and Eastern Europe have been such that the establishment of a centre free from the difficulties encountered in those areas would tend to cause a flow of scholars and students, which would assist in the formation of a nucleus. The success of that nucleus is the more likely as wide opportunities, together with the inspiration of Jewish idealism, present themselves in a considerable degree—elements each of which alone is productive of success. The abilities of Jewish scholars and students are undoubted. The enthusiasm of their Jewish idealism is seen in the organization of Jewish Unions in the Universities, full of the spirit of imaginative and rousing comradeship in the pursuit of a lofty ideal. The success of the nucleus should bring successors—and the successors should perpetuate success. The centre as a Jewish University in Jerusalem, and as a Jerusalem University for Jewry, with its University Press, its University Extension system, and all the apparatus of a modern University radiating its light and attracting its force from a Jewish environment,

a Jewish atmosphere, a Jewish land—the University thus established as the seat of Hebrew culture will be able to present to Jewry and the world the fullest restatement, in terms of modern knowledge, of the whole span of Jewish life and thought—its traditions and its aspirations. Then shall reply be made to those who ask what does Jewry do to further Israel's ideals, what has modern Jewry done to justify rationally its identity with ancient Israel, to justify its continued separateness as a people. There in Jerusalem, there on Israel's ancient soil, will be the Jewish citadel of learning, of culture, of science, of civilization. Then the "mission of Israel" may become, not a phrase, but a reality; not a plea, but a reason. The foundations of the University are already there—the Libraries, the Institutes, the Medical centres, the Museums. It needs but a "Universitas"—association, corporate unity—to make them one. Then there will be planted in the garden of Israel a Tree of Knowledge which will be a Tree of Life.

## THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

BY NORMAN BENTWICH

ZIONISTS have tended to indulge, from the foundation of their movement, in "Future-Music," which has a seductive melody, but lacks substance. Yet at a moment when a new era is opening for humanity, the Jew, and particularly the idealist Jew, must needs envisage his future and the future of the country which he hopes to make his own again. Since the destruction of the Temple, say the Rabbis, the gift of prophecy is given only to children. One may refrain, then, from prophecy, and confine oneself to the suggestions of probable development in the light of past experience and present tendencies, shielded by Shakespeare's authority against the objections of the sceptical:

"It never yet did hurt  
To lay down likelihood and forms of hope."

The history of Palestine has been closely bound up with that of Egypt and Syria. The rulers of the richer countries to the west and north have often struggled for the possession of the strip of mountainous but goodly land between the desert and the sea through which runs the highway that joins Asia and Africa. Here it was in Bible times that the monarchs of Assyria encountered the armies of the Pharaohs, and, centuries later, the Ptolemies and Seleucids made it their battle-ground. Napoleon in modern days, seeking Eastern empire, invaded the country after his campaign in Egypt. He invited the Jewish people to return to their home under his ægis, but the resistance of Acre, which he described as the key of the East, baffled his hopes. After the Turkish conquest of the

East, indeed, the country ceased to have the economic and strategic importance which attached to it before. It shared the fortunes of the rest of the Ottoman Empire, depending, for good and ill, upon the rulers' capacity for government. Early in the nineteenth century Mehemet Ali, the redoubtable Pasha of Egypt, would surely have wrested Palestine as well as Syria from the Turks, had it not been for the intervention of England and France. Palestine in that case might have shared the remarkable progress of Egypt during the last fifty years, and come within the British sphere of influence. But when Mehemet Ali was driven out, it relapsed into neglect, and its economic development became for various reasons slow, not only absolutely, but relatively to some other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The entry of Turkey into the European War inaugurates yet another phase of the ever-recurring struggle for the command of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. It may be hoped that the end of the War will see the establishment of stable conditions in these countries, and that under an efficient régime the Land of Promise will again become a land of fulfilment.

Palestine is essentially the land of religious influence and spiritual association, but as the meeting-place of two continents it has a singular political and geographical importance. The railway has taken the place of the road as the great means of communication between countries, but it follows the lines of the road; and it is along the Vale of Esdraelon and the maritime plain, where thousands of years ago the armies and caravans of Africa met the armies and caravans of Asia, that to-day the railroad linking India to Egypt must pass. An English enterprise—the Syrian-Ottoman Railway Company—projected in the nineties a line from Haifa to Damascus, with powers eventually to extend to the Euphrates, so that the Persian Gulf should be brought within one day's railway communication of the Mediterranean. A line was to connect with the



Egyptian system at Port Said, which should run down the Palestinian coast and cross the Sinai Desert. The first part of the project—*i.e.*, the line between Haifa and Damascus—has been realized, and the Euphrates railway is being pushed on despite the outbreak of war; the rest remains a paper scheme. Palestine, however, has already a considerable network of railways. The oldest are those between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and between Damascus and El-Muzerib in the Hauran, both owned by a French company. Of much greater length and importance is the Hedjaz line linking Syria and Arabia, which was built by the Turkish Government primarily for carrying the pilgrims to Mecca, and opened some five years ago as far as Medina. Running from Damascus southward, through the Hauran and the eastern side of Palestine, to Arabia Petraea and Arabia Felix, it opens up to economic and commercial enterprise a vast district, once one of the world's granaries, but for centuries abandoned to the marauding Bedouin. The Hedjaz line has a branch from Dera'a in the Hauran to Haifa, connecting it with the sea; and a small extension of that branch to Acre encircles the bay that forms Palestine's natural harbour. Damascus, too, is now connected with Aleppo by a French line; and, seeing that the Bagdad Railway is contemplated to run from the coast of Asia Minor to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and to be connected with Aleppo, the linking-up of the Near East and the Far East, and, indeed, of Europe and the whole Orient, is well on the way to achievement. Haifa will be one of the principal *débouchés* of this trunk system, and, when European enterprise is introduced, its bay, bounded by the height of Carmel on the south, and the promontory of Acre on the north, is like to become again a haven of great ships, as it was in the days when Solomon was building the Temple. The Turkish Government has advanced some way in connecting Haifa with Jerusalem by a line running through Samaria and Nablous; and shortly before the war

broke out it was announced that a French syndicate had obtained a concession for a railway from the Lebanon district to Judea, which would directly connect Syria with Southern Palestine. If this line should be constructed along the coast, and continued to Egypt across the desert, Palestine would become the nodal point of three continents. Possibly the Turkish army will have prepared the way for peaceful communication by laying rails across the desert, even as Lord Kitchener years ago prepared the way for a peaceful reclamation of the Sudan by a military railway across the Nubian sands.\*

The construction of railways in Palestine both indicates and increases the economic possibilities of the country. Agriculture is to-day, as in Bible times, the main pursuit of the inhabitants, the only considerable manufacture being that of soap from the olive-berry. Most of the cultivation is poor, but the experience of the small German colonies which were planted some fifty years ago near Jaffa and Haifa, and of the Jewish colonies which have been scattered over the plains of Judea and Samaria and the uplands of Galilee, has proved that the ancient fertility of the country may be restored by an industrious population. For some time to come the development must be mainly agricultural, but mineral deposits exist that promise industrial expansion. Phosphates are already mined on the east of the Jordan; the Dead Sea is known to be an untapped store of chemical wealth, which only awaits capital and a prudent administration to transform it into a kind of gold-mine; oil has been struck in the same region; and it is said that the arid country to the south of Palestine contains workable veins of coal. The Bible description of Palestine as a land whose mountains are copper and iron may be justified when scientific exploitation gets its opportunity. In that

\* New railways are understood to have been laid in Palestine during the war—*e.g.*, a branch connecting Jerusalem with the Hedjaz railway.

case the agricultural development would be followed or accompanied by the creation of industries. Cotton, according to the experts, can be grown as well in the Jordan Valley as in the Nile Delta, and wool and hides will be brought across by railway from Mesopotamia. With minerals to work factories, and an industrious labour force to man them, Palestine would have its manufacturing towns, and surely, but not, it may be hoped, too rapidly, would become one of the commercial centres of the Near East. It is not rich enough in material prospects to attract those who are looking mainly for material advancement, but it is not too poor to provide for those emigrants who are willing to work for an ideal. The mining of phosphates, moreover, will facilitate the intensive cultivation for which the Plain of Sharon and the Jordan Valley are adapted and the Jewish agriculturists, with their intellectual equipment, are peculiarly suited. Afforestation and terracing will restore the fertility and beauty of the hills and mountain-slopes. That in turn implies the need of a diligent and devoted peasantry, loving the land. But this condition should not be wanting, seeing that under the present unfavourable circumstances such a peasantry has been steadily increasing.

A few years ago the writer of an official report for the Board of Trade on British commerce in Syria stated that Syria and Palestine "possessed all the advantages of soil and climate and a hard-working population which, under better administration and security and the establishment of inland communications, would help to render the region one of the most prosperous portions of the Ottoman dominions." He noted that while the emigration of Syrians to America was the feature in the country to the north, the immigration of Jews was the feature in Palestine. The total trade passing through the port of Jaffa has doubled in six years, and that despite the untoward effect of wars and the threat of war. A strong and prudent government will need a large influx of

energetic people to develop the neglected resources of the country. For though its population has multiplied by immigration during the last half century, and it has to-day some 700,000 inhabitants, it is still in large measure an empty land. Outside the towns there are but 250,000 Arabs in possession of the country, and but 8 per cent. of the soil is fully cultivated.

Historical Palestine—*i.e.*, the territory between Dan and Beersheba and between the desert and the sea—is about the same size as Wales. It embraces some 10,000 square miles—6,000 to the west of the Jordan, and 4,000 to the east. The late Colonel Conder, who spent years in surveying it and exploring its ruins, calculated that at one time it supported at least 10,000,000 people, and that it could immediately maintain three or four times the existing number of inhabitants. The density of population is now only seventy, and, excluding the towns, less than twenty-five per square mile. Even without the foundation of industries, by the good organization of agriculture it might be trebled and quadrupled. During the last century the population of Egypt has increased fourfold, while the country has remained almost wholly agricultural. The Rabbis compared Palestine to a deer, whose skin grows when it is well fed. So with an increasing population the very area of the land will grow. Nor need Palestine to-day be confined to its historic borders, and Jewish colonization may extend to the whole territory which was contained in the Promise. When the Israelites were about to march from the Wilderness, they received at Horeb the message: “Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount. Turn you and take your journey and go to the mount of the Ammonites, and unto all the places nigh thereto in the plain, in the hills and in the vale and in the south and by the side, to the land of the Canaanites and to Lebanon and unto the great river, the river Euphrates.” From the Mediterranean to the Euphrates and from Lebanon

to the river of Egypt—this is the territory which was to be the land of Israel, and in the future might be the Jewish land. All this area, this Greater Palestine, cries for a population to redeem it from the neglect and decay of centuries, and all of it is full of associations for the Jews. When Palestine was shut against them by the tyranny of Christianized Rome, they made a new Land of Israel in the country to the east; and when in recent times the door to Palestine seemed to be closed, Herzl looked to the El-Arish district as a starting-place of Jewish colonization on a large scale. The plateaux of Gilead and Moab and the plains that stretch away to the Tigris and Euphrates may be reclaimed by Jewish enterprise and industry no less than the stony hills of Judea and Samaria and the green slopes of Galilee. Zionism, indeed, does not aim at leading back the whole of the Jewish people—the larger part will remain dispersed among the nations—but Greater Palestine may be a home for a very large remnant, numbered not in thousands, nor even in hundreds of thousands, but in millions.

Already over 300,000 Jews inhabit Turkey's Asiatic dominions, of whom a third are settled in Palestine, and the rest are to be found mostly in the larger towns—Smyrna, Damascus, Aleppo, Bagdad. A considerable proportion of the urban workers could be enticed to the cultivation of the soil. The congested town population of Palestine will likewise be reduced partly by diversion to the land, partly by the creation in fresh centres of industries, which will immediately be required when a steady immigration begins. The Yemen district of Arabia possesses a reservoir of Jewish labourers in the 50,000 people who at present eke out a wretched life in subjection to fanatical Arab tribes. Some thousands of them have already made their way to Palestine, and proved their use as workers both in town and field, and the whole community is eager to move when their emigration can be organized. Larger sources of a vigorous population to fill the waste

spaces only await the call of a new Cyrus. There are the millions of Poland and Russia now menaced with homelessness, from which a steady stream would surely flow eastward to the land of Jewish promise, as well as westward to the land of material prospects; the 80,000 Jews of Salonica, hitherto the dominant element in the town, controlling its industry and its commerce, but now threatened by Greek jealousy; hundreds of thousands of Balkan Jews, ill at ease amid the exuberant nationalities of the Near East; the ancient settlements in Persia, Georgia, and Turkestan, looking with the simple faith of old for the chance of hastening the coming of the Messiah; and, lastly, the idealistic bodies of young Zionists in every Jewish congregation of the West, who see in Palestine alone the chance of realizing the good life and the Jewish hope. Already small bands from these communities have fixed their home in Jerusalem, which is becoming a microcosm of Jewry and a genuine melting-pot of Jewish life in all its phases. And if and when Palestine is freely opened the yearning for the Holy Land will be as strong among the youth as the yearning for the Holy City is to-day among the old, and will more powerfully inspire to action: the love of re-forming the nationality will strengthen and revivify the love of the religion: and the spirit of the land will weld the diverse mass into a conscious nation.

It is not to be expected that the Jews will be able to occupy and appropriate the whole country. The Arabs of Palestine already number more than half a million, and the territory adjoining is the home of wandering tribes of Bedouin. Moreover, the Syrians in the north have begun to cast covetous eyes on the sparsely populated tracts around them, and may set off the claim of neighbourhood against the claim of ancient title. But there is ample room for the children of Esau and of Jacob to live together in harmony on the land. The local Arab population shows no tendency to increase, and the Syrian overflow, which has hitherto

turned principally to America, will be likely to find a greater attraction in the rich valleys of Anatolia, when that province is opened up, than in the mountainous country to the south. It is the Jews alone who will make any large and systematic immigration into Palestine, and it is Jewish enterprise and enthusiasm and devotion which will have to restore it to its former proud place in the annals of civilization. They will bring a higher standard of life from which the Arabs will gain, and they will require the Arabs' help in reclaiming the waste places. The interests of the present and the future population in fact coincide, and it should be within the powers of a just administration to secure a good understanding and co-operation between the two elements that are in origin akin and stand in material need of each other.

As regards the Christian population, too, no serious difficulty which statesmanship cannot meet should arise. It is true that the Christian Churches, especially the Greek Orthodox Church, look with longing eyes on the Holy Land as the cradle of their religion. But this yearning is rather for control of particular sites than for settlement on the land. To-day Palestine is inhabited by about 100,000 Christians, of whom half are Arabs and half members of religious orders and groups of European residents in the towns. Christian colonization of the country is unlikely. Save for the small German settlements, which had their origin in a religious enthusiasm, none has been attempted during the last century, and the experience of the Swedish peasants and American mystics who sought to establish an ideal community in Jerusalem suggests that religious enthusiasm, when divorced from national sentiment, will not be strong enough to hold to the land those who come from a different national environment. The Christian interest will remain, then, rather that of pilgrims than of pioneers, and will be centred upon holy places rather than the soil.

Experience of the past warrants the expectation that

Western knowledge and Western methods will be introduced into the towns and fields of Palestine neither by Moslem Arabs nor by European Christians, but by Jews, who will come with the determination of building up a fresh national life, and who will here not have to assimilate a strange culture, but to emulate a civilization they have left. For nearly a thousand years the majority of Jews have lived in Europe, and their chief intellectual centres have been in Europe; though it should be remembered that the Jewry of Spain was geographically in Europe but intellectually in the East, while Russia, which has long been the home of the chief community of Jews, is only a very recent accession to intellectual Europe. In a real sense, therefore, right down to our time the Jews have been a link between Europe and Asia, and they return to Palestine adapted to perform this function with far greater efficiency. They have absorbed all that the West can teach of science, philosophy, and art, and hand on the torch to the East with a clearer and a stronger flame. At the same time, they have preserved their own outlook on life, which is nearer to the East than to the West, and enables them to understand Asia as the pure European can hardly hope to do. Intermediary and interpreter between East and West, as well as creator of its own individual achievement—such should be the rôle of a Jewish Palestine.

Palestine is barely of the East, though in the East. It has many a time been settled by peoples from the West, and it was a hearth of Western civilization almost unbrokenly till the thirteenth century, when the Tartar hordes burst upon it, and laid waste its towns and villages. The grandiose Hellenistic ruins on the east of Jordan, the sarcophagus of "Alexander" unearthed at Sidon, the Roman basilicas of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the lovely Dome of the Rock, ascribed to Omar, that stands on the site of the Temple, and the walls of Crusaders' castles up and down the country, bear witness to the succession of brilliant civilizations which



have left their stamp on the land of the Hebrew prophets. On the other hand, the West has here met and learnt from the East. In the early part of the Middle Ages, when the Latin kingdom existed, Palestine was to Europe what America was to it in the early part of the Modern Age, the magnet of the adventurous; and from contact with the progressive Arab culture of the day the Crusaders and merchants brought back to Europe the rudiments of science and philosophy, as well as the arts of war and the commodities of the East.

The Jews of Southern Europe at that period were a link between Arab and Christian, fulfilling a mediating function; and the Jews who now return to Palestine will accomplish the reverse service, bringing to their old home the ideas and the inventions of the countries of their sojourn. The central need is not that they be European or Asiatic, but that they be Hebraic. To-day their intellectual classes in Eastern Europe are drunk with modern culture, and make of it a cult, often to the sacrifice of the religious tradition. But the genius of the country will surely revive the deeper spiritual powers latent in the race, which centuries of repression have obscured but never crushed. The immigration to Palestine will be largely not of those seeking material gain, but of those anxious to realize an ideal, who therefore will have a heightened consciousness of the aims of corporate life, such as the Puritan pioneers brought to the New World. Small and poor as it is, the present Palestinian settlement in Jaffa and Haifa and the agricultural colonies has already given an earnest, in the way of organized communal institutions and intellectual culture, of what a conscious Jewish national population will achieve. The prototype of the new life is to be sought not in the Ghettos of Jerusalem and Safed, which are the obsolete survivals of the old outlook, but in the streets and schools of Tel-Aviv (the Jewish quarter of Jaffa), and in the democratic organization of the Jewish colonies.

The equality of men and women, foreshadowed in the educational system of the young Palestine population, as well as in the local government of the villages, will surely be one of the revolutions that the Jewish influence will silently work in the East. Spiritually the infant communities mark the beginnings of a life which is not only Jewish, but Hebraic. The Jew all over the world already turns to them with the feeling that "here is a miniature of the people of Israel as it ought to be," and the next generation will see that miniature enlarged to a full picture.

The future of Palestine is thus fraught with great consequences to the Jewish communities of the Dispersion. Just as, before the destruction of the Temple, the national centre was a perennial source of spiritual influence upon the scattered congregations of Israel, so again in the land of Israel there will be rooted a full Jewish life, from which a new religious influence will spread. In two thousand years the Jew has preserved his faith, his way of life, his language, his literature, and his ideals. But during his long exile his genius has been largely diverted from its proper sphere. In Heine's poem on the "Princess Sabbath" the pedlar is changed into a prince when he throws off his pack on the Sabbath eve. And the Jewish people, when in its own land it throws off the burden of centuries of persecution, will again reveal the excellence which made it of old a light to the nations. The whole of Jewry, and indeed of humanity, is crying to-day for some religious message. The response may come from the people who gave to the Western World its religion, when they are again gathered on the hills of Judea and Galilee and the genius of the place is associated with the genius of the nation.

Herzl conceived Palestine alike as the Jewish country and as the ideal community. It was the old-new-land in which the spiritual heritage of the past should be combined with the social dreams of the present by the people whose history embraces almost

the whole of civilization. The houses were to be more beautiful than those of European towns, the villages and cities better planned, universal education, co-operative enterprises, and other devices of the Socialist state for the happiness of the mass would have their place side by side with Hebraic institutions making for equality. The year of release and the Jubilee should be revived and become the basis of a happier social order than that which has grown up in Europe. Henry George, shortly before Herzl wrote, had found in the Mosaic legislation the model of the ideal social system, standing not for the protection of property so much as for the protection of humanity. When the people from whom have sprung the founders of modern Socialism have the opportunity to work out their political institutions on their own lines, they should avoid the economic evils that beset young political communities, and provide for mankind the example of a harmonious society. They will reassert their function of spiritual teachers; a new generation of Maccabees will arise in this new Judea who will spread the science and the crafts of Europe through the East, transforming them, perhaps, with that religious quality which is required to move the Oriental races.

Hitherto the Levant, for lack of a true civilizing element, has acquired but a poor veneer of Western thought. The Jew will be the ideal interpreter of the West to the East, and of the East to the West; for his history and his habit of mind make him kin on the one side to the Semitic peoples devoted to God, and on the other to the Westerns devoted to human progress. He will be the reconciling element to bring back the Semites into community of thought and action with the rest of the civilized world, and thus lay the foundation of a concord of the races. "God will not come to the heavenly Jerusalem," runs a Rabbinic maxim, "till the Jewish people return to the earthly Jerusalem." That is the poetic way of saying that the return of the Jews to their national life will be a

step toward the establishment of the social order on principles of justice and peace, which is the Hebrew conception of the Messianic age. Jerusalem, indeed, which, according to an old Hebrew derivation, means "the threshold of peace," seems, as the centre of three great religions, more fitted than any other city to be the hearth of international understanding and goodwill. It has older and more solid claims than The Hague to become the meeting-place for the representatives of the peoples who shall fashion the law of justice between nations.

Jewish hopes ran high at the Vienna Congress in 1815. The children of the Ghetto believed that the time of complete social and political emancipation was come, and in that expectation many forgot the age-long yearning for restoration to their old home. The events of the century belied the expectation, and first revived the national yearning and then transformed it into a national movement. Jewish hopes will run high again at the Congress—of 1916?—which is to inaugurate a new era of peace. But they will be centred now, not on civil emancipation, but on national redemption; not on the means to individual freedom, but on the goal of a people's striving. Palestine for nearly 2,000 years has been the object of undying aspirations. The dream of the return has illumined the obscurity of the exile, and given a meaning to the suffering of untold generations. At last the dream is to be reality. And if the thought of national life in Palestine has been an inspiration to a people, the realization of national life in Palestine will be an inspiration to humanity. In the words which George Eliot forty years ago placed in the mouth of her Jewish hero, to whom the vision of the whole was an unsealed book, "Judea poised equally between East and West will be a covenant of reconciliation" . . . "And the Jew will choose his full heritage, claim the brotherhood of his nation, and carry it into a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles."

## A NOTE ON THE BOUNDARIES OF PALESTINE

EVERY work on Palestine has its own definition of the boundaries of the country. The reason lies in the diverse tendencies and special points of view of the authors, who reach very different conclusions according as the object of their works is religious, scientific, or political, and according as they base themselves on biblical texts or on data furnished by tradition, history, or geography.

The discrepancies between the different definitions are considerable. The first Book of Kings (iv. 21) and the second Book of Chronicles (ix. 26) tell us explicitly that in the period when the Jewish kingdom was at the height of its power Solomon "reigned over all the kings from the river [the Euphrates] even unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt." These kings paid him tribute, and they were subject to him so long as he lived. 1 Kings ix. 26 and 2 Chronicles viii. 17-18 relate how King Solomon, having finished building the Temple at Jerusalem, betook him to Ezion-Geber (Akaba), on the Red Sea, and there equipped a fleet which went to Ophir and returned laden with gold. But the twelve tribes of Israel, reunited under his sceptre, were only one people among a great number of others; and if the sovereignty of David and Solomon extended northwards as far as the Euphrates and southwards as far as Egypt and the Red Sea, it is none the less true that the Israelites themselves were in effective occupation only of the territory described in the first Book of Kings (iv. 25) as extending "from Dan to Beersheba."

The object of this note is not to take up the cudgels for one or other of the definitions of the limits of ancient Palestine which have been put forward. The boundaries of which we wish to speak are those of a Palestine of the future—of Palestine as it would be should those who hold its immediate destinies in their hands give their consent to the re-establishment of Jewish national life in the country.

The territory needed for this purpose is of modest extent. It includes roughly what was in biblical times the heritage of the twelve tribes of Israel, extended by a certain tract of territory, which is inconsiderable in area, but contains some points that are indispensable for the economic development of the country and for the fulfilment of the important rôle which Palestine could play as a "land-bridge." For Palestine ought to serve from the economic point of view as a link between Asia and Africa.

So far as the western boundary is concerned, there is no room for discussion: the Mediterranean coast is the frontier. In what follows, therefore, we shall deal only with the boundaries on the north, the east, and the south.

The northern border of the ancient territory of the twelve tribes runs from the coast, a little north of Saida (Sidon), almost in a straight line to the point where the *Wadi-Luwa* falls into the lake or morass of *Matkh Burak*, south-south-east of Damascus. The eastern border runs from this spot first along the *Wadi-Luwa*; then it describes a wide curve, skirting on the east the mountainous region of *El-Leja* (the ancient *Trachonitis*) to a point  $32^{\circ}30'$  N. Thence it turns south-westward as far as the most easterly reach of the river Jabbok, from there due south as far as the river Arnon, then westward along this river to the Dead Sea, which itself forms the boundary as far as its southern extremity.

The southern border runs due south from this end of the Dead Sea, up the valley of *Arabah* to about  $30^{\circ}30'$

N; thence it turns westward as far as the *Wadi-el-Arish*, and then follows this *wadi* to the sea.

Such were approximately the boundaries of the ancient inheritance of the twelve tribes of Israel. In considering what are the important points which are indispensable for the economic development of the country in modern times, we have to remember that from the economic point of view the rôle of Palestine is that of a double bridge: on the one hand a bridge between the combined continents of Europe and Asia and the continent of Africa, on the other hand a bridge between the maritime basin of the Mediterranean and that of the Indian Ocean. As a bridge between two continents, Palestine ought to have railway and caravan routes; as a bridge between two maritime basins, it ought to have outlets on both basins. With modern appliances it would be possible without great difficulty to construct excellent harbours at Jaffa and Haifa on the Mediterranean; while Akaba on the Red Sea, where once King Solomon equipped his eastern fleet, is the natural outlet towards the Indian Ocean, and an outlet which belongs historically to Palestine. Akaba is, in fact, absolutely useless for anybody else, whereas for Palestine it is a vital necessity.

This is not the place to explain in detail the reasons for the conclusion, but a close investigation of all the factors, many of which are too technical for the general reader, suggests the following delimitation of the frontiers of Palestine:

On the north, the first five miles of the lower course of the *Nahr-el-Auwalî*; thence a straight line to the south-east, skirting the southern extremity of the Lebanon and of Mount Hermon and running to a point situated at  $36^{\circ}$  E by  $33^{\circ}15'$  N; thence another straight line running south-south-east to Bosra ( $32^{\circ}30'$  N); from this town the frontier would go southward, parallel with the railway and at a distance of ten to twenty miles to the east of it, as far as the depression of *El-Jafar*, which is twenty miles east of Ma'an; from this de-

pression the frontier would turn to the south-west almost as far as Akaba. Finally, on the south the natural boundary is indicated by the existing Egyptian frontier, running north-westward, from a point on the Gulf of Akaba some miles south-west of the port of that name, to Rafah.



## THE NEW JEW : A SKETCH

BY NAHUM SOKOLOW

I KNEW him years ago. He was a much sought after young *bochur* in the *Bet-hamidrash* of my birthplace, inspired, exalted, full of religious emotion; a young Talmudist who had faith, hope, and a clear aim in life: the Torah, the law, and, above all learning, Jewish learning. He longed irresistibly for the higher Truth. He lived in his emotions and his imagination; he was almost solitary. He attracted me not only by his humility, patience, gentleness, kindness, but also by his rare individuality.

Meir was a *bochur* in a class by himself. He fascinated me; he drew me by his originality. I see him still as he looked then. His delicate, oval face was pale. His abundant, dark, flowing hair swept over his white forehead. His deep-set, large, grey eyes stared thoughtfully and rather sadly. In the expression of his face profound melancholy mingled with the timidity of a child. His forehead and eyes revealed the stress of thought, but the thin lips had the lines of tenderness. His upper lip and cheeks were covered with golden down. At the first glance he seemed to be mocking at all things, very gently, but still mocking. He was lively, playful, with a keen sense of the ridiculous, but closer observation showed that this impression was superficial. The wrinkles beneath his eyes spoke of sadness, something dignified and almost tragical in its seriousness.

Young as he was, with life pulsing quick and happy through his body, he was far from satisfied by the many books he liked, and by the knowledge he had

acquired through some years of study. Whenever I met him in our common Talmudical studies, he asked questions which I then thought very odd. He was not much interested in the books themselves; he was interested rather in the authors, in their manner of life and in their surroundings, in those conditions which might have influenced them in writing their books. He could make them live in his imagination, and he could share their life. "There is something wanting," he used to say, referring to the old commentaries.

He could not remain in the *Bet-Hamidrash* with his developing scepticism. The old orthodox Rabbis were not indignant; they did not condemn Meir; rather they lamented the painful loss they were sustaining. The poor old Rabbis had grown accustomed to such losses. The New Age!

Meir joined our new Hebrew Intellectuals, the *Maskilim*; but not for long. Some years afterwards I met him in one of the capitals of Western Europe. He was studying Philosophy at the University, and "Jewish Science" at one of the Rabbinical Seminaries. There was the old charm coupled with Western refinement, good taste, and a deep feeling for Art. The wonderful head with the delicate, pale face, and the large grey eyes and thick eyebrows, suggested an old alabaster vase in which a great light was burning. His mind was still growing; he had become familiar with the poets, the philosophers, and the law-givers of the classical and the medieval worlds, as well as with the writers on the Bible and the Talmud; and, strange to say, he knew them better than those of his fellow-students who had never studied anything else.

For others, learning is merely a necessary element in education; for him it was a passion and a struggle. He had had to fight for it; he had had to change the whole form of his earlier life. He was a self-made scholar; still he had a Jewish background; he was imbued with the heroic grandeur of Jewish history, with the in-

spiring poetry of a noble past, and its memories of unparalleled steadfastness under tribulation.

I wanted him to contribute to a Hebrew magazine which I was planning. I admired his fine Hebrew style greatly. But he refused; he did not care to, he said. I was astonished. I wrote him down a sincere follower of what is called "Judaism," "Jewish Science," "the Jewish mission," in Western Europe. But I was mistaken. He was the same knight-errant of life as before at the *Bet-Hamidrash*.

He said: "I cannot write for others; I am troubled in my own soul. I want to make sure about myself as a free, moral, and spiritual person, as a *Jewish* moral and spiritual person. All the teaching of 'modern' Judaism is fragmentary confusion, as unsubstantial as dreams. I want real facts, real achievements, real speech, a real mission. I am sick of the unreality of things. You cannot defend by mere phrases a Judaism which is being attacked by the real living facts of persecution and freedom. One can no more do that than stand out against any other irresistible natural force. Disintegration is just as inevitable as the tides of the sea; it cannot be helped. Are we still a people to whom youth and health may return, or a bleached and scattered heap of bones? Are these bones destined never again to live and move? I do not know. I am not a man of letters; there is nothing of a leader about me. But one thing is quite clear to me: these Jews around me, Cohen, Levy, and Israel, with their preachers, their presidents, and their organizations, are not a nation; they are like a newspaper driven to and fro by the events and the emotions of the day. That may be well enough for a newspaper, but not for a nation. They are always preaching and doing what others want them to preach and to do. They will find you a text in Judaism justifying anything; they have no continuity of purpose, no plans, no foresight. They do not know what to concede, what to maintain; they wait on events. The advanced people are not

a bit advanced. They are artificial, snobs. The Jews of the Ghetto had an undesirable form of distinctiveness, but they had at least the courage not to cease to be themselves, not to lose their identity, not to divorce themselves from their past. We modern Jews are all in the air. We have imagined an abstract Judaism, forgetting that spiritual and individual activity not resting upon the simpler activities of life degenerates into subtlety and trickery. I want a normal life with its variety and its response to the multifarious influences of nature. We have become nothing but intellectual and emotional sensibility, running after every idea and drifting on every current. I am sick of it."

"You are," I interrupted, "if I may use the paradox, a little bit of an Anti-Semite."

"I am not afraid of it," he said. "I am not concerned about catchwords. I mean with all my heart what I say with my lips. It is a point of conscience with me. I am too good a Jew to be afraid of criticizing modern Judaism. And, after all, do I blame anybody? Time after time scorn and ridicule of the pettiness of Jewish life overcome me, but there follows a passion of remorse and repentance. Who is to blame? The orthodox of old times? No, they at least stand for accumulated inspiration and inherited tradition, the old calm memories of a life which has passed away. There is a new orthodoxy of people who believe in the vague sentences of some German Jewish preacher of the Post-Mendelssohnian Epoch—*Judenthum*. The multitude hold by the formulas that pretend to solve their problem. They follow them blindly like school children, caring not whether they are right or wrong, or whether they offer a conclusive answer. So long as there is an answer of some sort, their minds are at ease. But there are earnest inquirers whom these formulas do not satisfy, who see that they are followed for their own sakes, but can never lead to any conclusion. The soul of the people,

like the soul of the individual, rebels; it rejects formulas; it starts from the first principle of existence, the fierce assertion of its own individuality, the inalienable right to seek after truth in its own way.

"It was with this burning protest against formulas that I left the old *Bet-hamidrash* where we studied together, and that I entered this new world of European civilization and up-to-date Judaism. But here, again, new formulas, abstract theories, and combinations are offered to me with sunny complacency as a solution of the Jewish problem. They are worshipped as fetishes, and my soul revolts against the futile idolatry. No, this is not life; these are not the destinies of a living nation."

"You would, then, return to orthodoxy?" I asked.

"I do not like formulas which belong to another age and another atmosphere; they are imitated from the ideas and the sects of other nations and religions. I am simply a Jew and a man of our time. You can no more preserve a certain stage of evolution than you can preserve a crop standing in the fields. My desire is to live a whole life in a Jewish sense, just as any other man belonging to any other nation or race lives it in his way."

"Do you reject," I asked, "the idea of a Jewish mission?"

"I reject it," he replied, "so far as it is rhetoric and not plain commonplace fact. If we can influence other nations, *à la bonne heure!* Let us try to do it. I confess that to my mind it is Utopian. The nations, even when they accept the mission, do not accept us as missionaries. The law-givers, heroes, and rulers of Israel are dear to their imagination, not as the chiefs of our race, but as the fathers and guides of common humanity. The law of Mount Sinai they would not accept as an expression of the Jewish genius, but as a declaration to all mankind of the fundamental principles of moral and social welfare. The kingly individuality of David and the other psalmists is lost

in the earnest outpourings of the common human heart.

“We are talking of a modern apostleship. For a hundred years it has been a favourite pulpit phrase, but in that time the would-be apostles who have passed over to the side of the disciples are a thousand times more numerous than the disciples who have passed over to the apostles. I do not object to influencing other nations, but I do not like this pretentious phrase; it is utterly superficial, rhetorical, sterile. Let the Jewish nation be a simple nation, not a kind of super-nation.”

“Are you a ‘reformer’?”

“Nothing of the kind; all this so-called religious reformation in Judaism is only an imitation of Protestantism. It has been made in Germany, chiefly in the Protestant part of Germany. It sprang from a superficial conception of the nature of Judaism. It took the form for the essence, and so it came to reformation. Judaism is a religion, but it is not only a religion. Many races and nations profess Protestantism. Judaism is the religion only of the descendants of the Jewish nation. The teachings and the rites of Protestantism are either metaphysical or connected with certain ethical principles. The teachings of Judaism, its oldest rites and ceremonies, are connected with Jewish nationalism. The whole of ‘reformed’ Jewish preaching was a rhetorical competition with Christianity. That was a great error. Let Christianity remain Christianity, and Judaism remain Judaism. Christianity may remember that the first legislation worthy of humanity, the code of morals in the law of Moses and in the teaching of the Prophets, was Jewish; or it may not remember this truth. The more we remain distinct as Jews, the more Christianity will realize this truth. At the bottom of my heart I preserve as a most precious treasure my Jewish religious belief, but I am a Jew independently of the degree, the direction, and the tendency of my belief,

because my blood, my race, my mentality, my tastes, my memories, and my longings are Jewish."

"You are, then, a Jewish Nationalist?"

"A new catchword. We have been, during thousands of years, a distinct people, bearing everywhere our own country in our hearts, in our holy books, in our religious services. If nationalism means hostility, the persecution of other nations, narrow-mindedness and racial fanaticism, I reject it. It is opposed to all my convictions, impulses, longings, and interests as a Jew. But if nationalism means being at one with one's own people, then I am a Jewish nationalist. I am at one with my people. Though individual Jews or small groups of Jews may be disposed to repudiate the common bond, the Jewish nation has never acquiesced in the extinction of its nationality. Such groups have disappeared; the nation remains."

"Are you firmly convinced," I asked, "that the future of the Jewish nation is quite secure?"

"It is not a dogma with me or a text for a sermon. It is a matter of will, and will is an immense force. The Jews will suffer the same fate as all nations if they repudiate their glorious past, or detach themselves from the maternal breast of humanity, and, living in solitude, dedicate themselves to exhaustion and decay. The Jews have great need of regeneration."

"Does your regeneration include a religious revival?"

He looked surprised; a faint flush dyed his cheeks. "You talk," he said, "like a German theologian, a liberal German theologian. Such phrases are mere imitation. We must be conscious of being simply Jews—that's all. Nothing can be reinvigorated or saved from decay except by returning upon itself and recapturing its own past. I for my own part am deeply interested in religious matters, but I take a broader view of this problem. Our age, being imbued with the scientific spirit, sees artificial props to religion knocked away, creeds sifted and dogmas questioned, and it

demands reality, a faith deeper than the deepest depth, a real communion with the spirit. What we must ask for and look for is not doctrine, or ceremony, or rite alone, but that which underlies them all; that of which the creed is but the outward intellectual formula. A guiding principle of our life is the return to nature. The conviction has taken shape in my mind that this can be done, and that it must be done. We must create realities, great Jewish realities."

The words uttered in his dreamy, passionless tones touched my imagination. Great Jewish realities! Extravagant as these ideas might seem, they were clearly more real to Meir than life itself. I wanted to know more of these ideas.

"Have you ever tried to convince your professors or your young colleagues? and how are you getting on with your studies? I suppose you will soon be taking your degree?" He nodded gravely.

"I am getting tired of the whole thing. What is the use of my being what I am? Should I tie myself to a sort of reformed or orthodox theology? That would be a self-contradiction, the merest folly. It is not lack of respect for my distinguished professors. I admire their knowledge and their sense of detail and of system. They are very good men and they admire *Judenthum*. But they do it in their own way, and it is a fantastic and sentimental way. They mourn the past, but hate what is happening now. Details about Jews who lived a thousand years ago are more to them than all the sorrows and pains of our living people. All their thoughts are centred on Hebrew sentences uttered a thousand and two thousand years back; they do not realize that this was a language and a people used it, and that this language and this people are still alive and continuing to create sentences. They cannot grasp the vitality of it, the simplicity of it. When I was a Talmudist I knew the sort of *pilpul*, or *droosh*, cultivated by our forefathers. I never liked it; there was much nonsense in it, and my new educa-



tion swept it entirely away. Now I find a new kind of *pilpul*, or *droosh*, worse than those of the *Bet-Hamidrash*, because they are merely imitations. Believe me, I am weary at heart. It is impossible to live in a fool's paradise."

"But the world is open to a man with your knowledge."

"Yes," he said emphatically. "The world is open, but I am an outcast. I have no prospect of a career. But that does not matter. What I do care about is my individuality. Let me find that, and the rest is of no account. Do you find all this mysterious? Believe me, it is the plainest thing in the world. I cannot explain it; I cannot put it in an epigram. Can you imagine a man torn by two tendencies and suffering from perpetual unrest? That is my position—I am a prey to discordant impulses. I am a Jew, heart and soul; a Jewish man, not an ancestor-worshipper, or a phonograph for Hebrew spoken two thousand years ago. I am the very same Jew who spoke Hebrew two thousand years ago, and I am also a living man. Then arise my bitter doubts and fears. I may yield to the atmosphere of my present surroundings; I fear the fascination of the modern world may get such a hold upon me that I shall be unable to free myself. But I must get free from it."

"Do you know," I inquired, "that there are some people, especially in our country, who hold the same views as you?"

He nodded to show that he had heard about it, and continued eagerly; "I think this is the Jewish Problem. It would remain with the sensitive Jew, even were he alone like Robinson Crusoe on a desert island. The dualism is in our inmost soul, and the duty, the necessity to repair one's shattered being."

"You should keep in better spirits," I said.

He answered, "I'll try," and we shook hands.

I stayed in that city for some time, and had many opportunities of following the development of this

crisis. I knew personally many of the students and professors, and they all had something to tell me. A great storm was gathering over Meir's head at the Seminary. Nobody could resist the fascination of the man. Nature had gifted him with remarkable physical beauty. He had gentle manners, was modest, generous, full of the longings and the dreams of youth, and so he was very popular; but his ideas made people nervous. At first they doubted his sincerity, and received his heresies with a half-friendly, half-apologetic smile. When they realized his sincerity, they realized also the danger. He stood for a force beyond the understanding and the experience of these people. He parodied their *Judenthum*. They could not read the riddle in his enigmatic sentence, "There is something wanting." To their minds nothing was wanting. Moreover, they sometimes imagined that he thought them men of mediocre intelligence, common specimens of their type. His wit bit like acid. His way of stating his opinions made those who differed from him feel small.

A distinguished professor of Oriental languages, one of the teachers of the Seminary, said to me: "A remarkable young man, your fellow-countryman. He could do brilliantly and take a fine degree. He might have a great future as a scholar; his culture is wide. But his present frame of mind is quite impossible. He is just a visionary." The professor of Talmud spoke of him in terms which amounted to praise. "He is quite an authority in my subject; he knows much; he talks well; but he works from an unsound basis. A good scholar, but full of vague, ill-defined theories."

[The principal, a man of great severity and an organizer, was more angry. "This *Russe*," he said, "is as unmanageable as a wild horse; unless he follows our rules and principles strictly there will be no place for him here."

As a matter of fact, these representatives of advanced and up-to-date *Judenthum* were more fanatical

in their excommunications than were the people of the old *Bet-Hamidrash* in my birthplace. Meir was turned out penniless, friendless, solitary.

A few years passed before I met him again, and I had little news of him. I knew that he had been thrown upon his pen for a livelihood and was doing translation work. He would have minded as little turning waiter. He was too proud to ask help from friends. Indeed, he had no friends. He would join no society or club; his soul was one of those which, according to the *Kabbalah*, wander about lost in the void. I never forgot him, and I was ready to grasp at any opportunity of meeting and studying him. Wherever I travelled in our little world I asked after him, but could find no trace. At one of the first Zionist Congresses, in one of the long corridors of the Basle Casino, a tall, good-looking young man held out his hand to me.

“Meir, are you here? Why have I not heard a word from you? Are you a delegate? Your ideas, do you remember them?”

“It is very good of you,” he said.

“But you must become a delegate,” I said. “I can get you a mandate, or I can give you mine.”

“No, thanks; I came just for a little information to confirm the soundness of my own ideas. Besides, I am an outsider. I join no organization. I look at things for myself. I do not care for the multitude.”

“But tell me, Meir, where do you stand? Do you call yourself a Zionist? Would you go to Palestine? Can I help you?”

“No, thanks; I earn my bread, and I have learnt a little about agriculture too. What would it help if I called myself a Zionist? You would publish it abroad. It may be necessary, and it may be right, to have all these congresses and organizations. But what I am is my own concern alone. You know my ideas. As to Palestine, that is the only way, not for itself, but that we may live the whole life of a man

and a Jew. My blood cries out for our home. But you need not worry. I'll find my way all right."

It was the old Meir of many years ago. He would have nothing to do with groups; he would take up any question that arose, but always as an outsider, to whom the conclusion arrived at was a matter of indifference. He would never accept the shibboleths of any party. If he had been forced to declare what he was, he would probably have said—a man, a Jew. He kept far from the crowded highways. I did not meet him again at that Congress, and I lost sight of him entirely afterwards.

I met Meir several years later, last year in Palestine, and found him much the same, yet vastly different. Tall, slender, graced with a simple dignity of manner, and with the old whimsical charm. What was new was the wind of freedom in his face. I could not keep my eyes from him. The same mild expression, the same frankness and absolute sincerity, but more strength, more power, more naturalness. His arms, strong as bands of steel, had a sense of directness of action; he suggested perfect physical condition, control, concentration, the co-operation of the mental and the physical to the desired end, an inflexible will. I had never seen him so gay and animated. His face shone with joy.

"Meir, is it a dream or a reality, your being here?"

I met him in Upper Galilee on a glorious spring evening in Palestine. A cloudless sunset had faded in the west to an amethyst afterglow, which, shading insensibly into mauve towards Mount Hermon, blended with the deep purple of the shrouded East. It was a world a-riot with colour: the pure white of the Lebanon, the vernal green of Wady-Ain-Ala; a view bewildering in its grandeur and spaciousness. The panorama unrolled before me in exquisite loveliness like a dream come true. And in these surroundings was my old friend Meir, a man of "great realities." What are the "great realities"? A farmer, his wife, and a couple of children. Yes, and they felt at home. Meir

introduced me to his family. His wife Deborah was a strikingly handsome woman, the daughter of an old Jewish settler of Petach Tikvah. A bright, cheery, kindly Jewish woman, with wonderful eyes and brown hair touched with silver. Common ideals had thrown Meir and Deborah together and united them. A boy and girl appeared, Shaool and Hermonah, gracious, laughing, blue-eyed children. They were singing a well-known song. Shaool's little mouth looked bold, and all knew Hermonah, the pride of the village.

They took me into the house, which stands in a quiet retired corner. The interior diffused an atmosphere of warmth and light, of ordered ease, almost luxury, which surprised me in that out-of-the-way spot. The furniture was limited to essentials: a few ordinary common chairs, a wash-stand, a table and a mirror against the wall, two iron bedsteads, and a little book-case with some old Hebrew literature, a few modern books and some agricultural text-books. An old clock ticked solemnly in the corner. Some deliciously fragrant flowers adorned the windows. Next to this room was a little nursery. Everything spoke of love in the heart—a joyous gaiety with sweet Hebrew notes pronounced by children filled the air. Those children will be the healthiest and the most normal of our kind. It is to them we shall look for our leadership.

They are only a handful, and where are the great masses? For the time being they are few indeed, but in their simplicity and their originality they sum up the feeling and the achievement of the man and the Jew. Theirs is a glory in its fullness, and with them is the divine element which adores and desires, breathes its own air and is at last alive. There is no sentimentality there. Life is serious, full of labour, a life of ploughing and of training, of sowing and of planting.

“We need work of a patient, simple kind,” said Meir. “Day in, day out, the months and years that I have planned this little garden have been one patient labour; nothing complex or subtle; everything de-

pending on sheer honesty at every stage. We Jews have to commence life again, to leave the artificial fictitious world of abstractions. The return to agriculture will be the redemption of our race. What is Judaism? It is the simple, practical, true-hearted life of the Bible as set forth in the Bible, becoming a mighty power for us. Here I find Judaism. Here my soul was bred, the soul of my race. What a sense of peace has come to me!"

"Had you difficulties? or did you find it easy?"

"My destiny was in my own hands. You ask whether I think about difficulties; I do. I cannot help thinking about them a great deal, but these difficulties do not depress my spirit, they exalt it. You must catch the genius of the place. When it comes to you it is like a glimpse of another world; and then you know there has been a turning-point in your life. You become again a child of nature, loving the sun and the grass, and at home with the earth. Don't think this monotonous. Make roads, plough the land, sow crops, prepare farms, be a builder, a carpenter, a smith. Do all this, leave the world of books, and live here by the garden, the road, the shore, and the lake. Give a number of your years for your country, and let the natural impulses which move the men of other nations move you. You will then see that this is the reality of being a Jew."

"You ask," he continued, "whether I had difficulties. Life has not been kind to everybody. Many have seen the splendid tapestry of their illusions rent to tatters by life's implacable hand. It was not the fault of the land, it was their own fault. You may think me half a savage in my contempt for organizations. That would be a mistake. I appreciate the necessity of organizations where common work is necessary; but it is naturally a personal question. To be a Jewish farmer in Palestine means to have found that intimate and personal contact with Palestine, through which Palestine becomes at once the source,

the centre, and the channel of the grace of God, apart from which we are materially or spiritually, as our fathers used to say, in *galuth*. We have done nothing and gained nothing if we have not won this cardinal truth, and only thus are we men like other men in the world."

"That is beyond question," I remarked.

"But that is not all," he said. "You have to love the beautiful, the free, the glowing earth with intensity. Do you see those old olive-trees, how strange they look, how strangely they moan in the sighing breeze? Do you see that brook, how it runs to the river, and the river how it rushes to the mighty sea, and the mystery of the music of the sea? They tell us things not known before, they whisper mysteries, they quicken the sense of life and action, and make the world glad. Sweet fields and simple honest folk give you a sunny vitality and vigour, an exuberant gaiety. It is the resurrection of the simple and the immortal. We want a new people for agriculture, just as we want a new people for social affairs. We try various means, and even our mistakes are full of promise."

The sun had set and the night was hastening to put out the lingering light, and streak the western clouds with gold.

"You think this country will revive?"

"There is no doubt of it," he said.

[Meir's personality, which had before been only the shade of a kindly memory, stood out now large and vivid, and I felt that I was listening to a prophet.

What a curious blend of the artist and the labourer, the poet and the craftsman! He was normal and wholesome in his simple view of life; he was looked up to for guidance, but refused all offices. He would have nothing to do with compulsion in pioneering—and not without reason. With all his social habits, man is still a solitary being, and there is something awful in the solitude which surrounds every individual. What passes between him and his fellow-men is but a

very small thing to what passes in his own soul. A charge was made against the false Prophets: "You have healed the hurt of my people slightly." Theirs was the same idea as Meir's. The people want a radical transformation, but it can be worked out only by individuals.

Meir had worked it out for himself. His greatest achievement was his simplicity. He had banished irony from his mind. "That," he said, "is a spirit of abstraction, scepticism, the abasement of human nature. It may be justified in the *galuth*; here we must free ourselves from this corruption; it is a sign of death."

The only topic on which he was communicative was farming. He talked to young settlers about asparagus, how the beds have to be formed, how deeply they have to be trenched and manured. Or he would speak about bean-sowing for the spring. He gave all his counsels in a rich Hebrew. It was like a passage of the Mishnah *Peah* or *Kilaim*; but he was not quoting, he was continuing. You could feel in his teaching the depth and the sweetness of his love; you could feel that his soul was happy, calm, and pure.

The little children interrupted our conversation to say good-night.

"This God-given gift is like the dew sent in mercy," said Meir.

All these impressions were too strong. They went a little to my head, intoxicating me with deep emotion. My birthplace and the *Bet-Hamidrash*, Western Europe and the Seminary, the meeting at the Congress, swept through my mind. All I remembered was sad, vague and fragmentary; all I was now experiencing was a succession of delight.

"How happy I am to have met you, dear friend of my childhood! You are the New Jew, who is to do great things."

Meir replied: "You think of me as one who is looking for what is new; I am doing just the opposite. I am



looking for the old. This is but the beginning of the birth of what will be. This is the home of men who know what they are and why they exist. Every day of my life seems to be more practical, more wonderful, more comprehensible; I give myself to this alone; I keep myself zealous for it; I make it the whole of my life.

“ I have a roof over my head, and this land is mine. I don't see what more I could want. My holding is my kingdom, my little Palestine; the land about me, in which my course is run, acquires a grace and a nobility beyond price. I am a recognizable product of this land, like its honey or flowers or wine. As the wine of Zichron Jacob differs from that of Rishon, so do I, a Jew by nature, differ from others: that is a fact which nothing can alter. All I want is to affirm myself. To my mind, real charity is the act of an honest man who lives on the lines of his own personality, his inner, individual logic. Such a man gives what he has and what he is. He does not flourish by borrowing down from the thistle, or sap from the lily; he is not a parasite or a mirror; he does not draw strength from others' brains, or grace from their souls. Like anything in nature, metal or plant or sentient being, he contributes to the feast of creatures and of things just the natural opulence of a generous selfishness, conforming to the rhythm of divine nature, in keeping with its gesture. The highest charity, therefore, is to live, to consent to be just a spot of colour in the meadow, to make it one's function to fit properly into the general colour-scheme. But to live does not mean merely to exist. One must be conscious of one's life, one's colour, one's play; and after acquiring this three-fold consciousness one must maintain one's self-expression and the activity of one's intelligence. That is very hard: it cannot be done by any combination of individuals, for no man can do it for another. He has to uproot himself from the *galuth*, to transplant his roots to a new soil and a new sky. Like Jacob, he

must fight at close grips with fate, must look fate square in the face in order to despise it sufficiently and brave it with a silent smile. Many a year I had no bread, but this smile I had. What little I had gave me peace and joy. Think of this delirious enthusiasm, of this daily struggle between your healthy, great, antique Hebrew nature (which should be always your true nature) and what the *galuth* has made of you. You build up again what the Ghetto has destroyed in you. Beneath the wrapping of all kinds of assimilation there are still within you elements of pre-*galuth* strength, courage, uprightness. You have to discover them, to mend them bit by bit, as one mends a torn piece of wonderful old lace. Once restored, you are happy. And this quest of the real self must necessarily be personal. It must be conducted by each man for himself; it cannot be done *en masse*. There should be a thousand, a million such individuals—I wish there were a million.

“This was, to my mind, the religious feeling of our ancestors. The accessibility of God to every soul, the possibility for every soul to come to God—this was their permanent teaching. The whole record of the Bible is the record of a personal relation between the individual soul and God. The writers talk to God, and God answers them; they walk with him, they have fellowship with him, they report that fellowship. He is their friend, their inspirer, their counsellor, their helper, their king, their father. Fatherhood means personal relation. A father and an orphan asylum are not the same. The orphan asylum may give you food and shelter, but not fatherhood. The quest of God must be individual and personal, and I am quite sure that we shall speak with God as our ancestors spoke with him, in truth and pure life, in our country. We are like flowers, which cannot live without the soil, cannot separate themselves from that nature of which they are part and parcel. Some people think that a religious Jew and a Zionist represent two different

tendencies of mind and soul. But what is a religious Jew? A religious Jew is a Jew who is faithful to the old traditions and the old sacred texts of the Bible and the Talmud. Is not that saying of the Babylonian Amora an old sacred text—that ‘the Jew who lives outside Palestine is like a man who has no God’? My friend, there is no deeper truth in all the teachings of the Talmud. I saw this truth in my own life: I could see nothing else before I crossed the threshold of my new life. I was like a solitary wayfarer in a deserted street. My friend, the world asks you: Man, where is your native soil? Where is your proper country? Each evening you spread your wandering tent over the ruins of another’s home; each morning you roll it up, to unroll it again at night. Fatigued and worn, with dull and lustreless eyes, you move like a dark form, you float like a wraith amid the organized groups of mankind. Have you not the same right as they to happiness, to ease, to the possession of the earth and liberty, to be yourself—you who are the son of a hundred generations, the heir of their thoughts and virtues and faults? Are we a nation of the Past? But what is our Purpose? The Past has very little relevance to Purpose. It gives us guidance as to the success or failure of different methods of going to work; but our Purpose cannot be directed towards the Past.

“No doubt our Past is of very great interest and importance: it is a good thing to belong to a nation with a great history behind it. But the greater part of its value lies in the inspiration for the Future which it affords. If that be taken away, some value no doubt remains—a strong sentiment of national pride, and so on. But if this leads to nothing, it is not worth a great deal. So, too, with our Judaism. It is a great thing to inherit a long tradition of faith and customs, but its chief value is again its inspiration for our Purpose. All the good elements in the Past derive most of their value for us from their relation to the Future.

“That is why I rejected the so-called ‘historical

Judaism' of the Breslau school. It is a Nationalism of the Past. What do these nationalists of the Past *do*? They do nothing: they simply *are*. They are sons of a family. They inherit, they do nothing but inherit; they count and recount the treasure of centuries; and they think, mistakenly, that the treasure is due to them. They do not add an ounce to it. And they are proud of it. But the treasure would consist entirely of false pieces if it were made by men like them. This pride of inheritance is perhaps the vainest thing of all: there is more in it of selfishness than of love. And they dare to talk about our ancestors! Why, our ancestors, bravest of the brave, great among the greatest, swore the oath on this soil, and were faithful to it as the eagle to the sun or the steel to the magnet. Read their prayers, their songs, their psalms! The Future and Hope—no phantasy, no dreams of a fevered brain, but simple, clear, decided resolution to end the tragedy in an idyll of natural life. They claimed the rightful inheritance due from a common father to his sons.

“I have sought through many years to find the way of truth, to solve the problem of my destiny, and in the depths of my own heart I have found the natural Jew, the human Jew. I live, I breathe, I speak once more. Here I feel pure, I am light-hearted as a child, I walk in bright sunshine. I cry aloud, I resume my right to be what I really am. The souls of my fathers inspire me with that fiery force which made them the world's Prophets; it rekindles in me their burning, unconquerable faith in God. Here, and here only, in my land of the golden sky and scorching sun, the Genius of the Past comes to my aid as a flood of life and light. Here I am no longer a doctrine, a piece of archæology, a poetical figure, a quotation, a vain phantom of the brain. Here, in joyous industry, in struggle for life, I affirm myself among the sons of earth, as a man after my own fashion. And though I do not care much for missions to the world, I think none the less that in this

man-like shape the world will understand me much better. Let them come and see me. I am living Judaism. I am, if you like, the testimony of the Law. Whoever looks on me must know that Israel was, is, and ever will be, a living nation. For I have seen the miracles of great deeds in this land, and whoever sees me must feel that secret and holy influence which made it possible for us, a down-trodden people, to spring to life again; and when he goes back, his thoughts will turn to me. But first of all let the Jews come and see me. Or will they laugh and jeer at me?—But their children will listen to me: I count on them.”

“You are an excellent Zionist.”

“You know I do not care for names.”

“But we have in Zionism different sections—political, practical, cultural. I should like to give yours a name, and call it personal Zionism.”

“As you will,” he said; “call it personal Zionism if you like.”

## APPENDIX I

### THE BASLE PROGRAMME

**ZIONISM** strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.

The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

## APPENDIX II

### THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

THE Zionist Organization includes all Jews who, by paying an annual contribution of one shekel (a shilling, mark, franc, etc.), show their sympathy with its objects. The supporters of the Organization are for the most part associated in societies which are grouped in national federations. The Organization is controlled by a Congress of representatives of the shekel-payers held in alternate years. In the intervening years a Central Committee, elected by the shekel-payers, meets to consider important matters of urgency. When the Congress or Central Committee is not sitting, the control of the Organization rests with an International Executive, which acts for the most part through a Central Executive of six members. The headquarters of the Organization were in Berlin before the outbreak of war; they are now at Copenhagen. For the purposes of work in Palestine, there is a "Palestine Office" with headquarters at Jaffa.

The financial instrument of the Zionist Organization is the JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST, an English limited liability company, with its office in London, which was founded in 1899 with a capital of £2,000,000, of which about £260,000 has been paid up.

The Jewish Colonial Trust acts in the East through the ANGLO-LEVANTINE BANKING COMPANY, LTD. (established 1908: registered capital £100,000), and the ANGLO-PALESTINE COMPANY, LTD. (established 1903: registered capital £100,000). The Anglo-Palestine Company has branches at Jaffa, Jerusalem, Hebron, Beyrout, Haifa, Safed, Tiberias, and Gaza.

**THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND** (registered as an English Company) was formed in 1902 for the acquisition of land in Palestine to be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. The Fund consists of voluntary contributions, made by Jews of all classes in all parts of the world, and ranging in amount from the smallest coin to considerable sums. The total amount thus subscribed is about £300,000. Besides purchasing land, the Fund carries on a variety of activities for the promotion of agricultural and urban colonization in Palestine. Subsidiary to the Jewish National Fund are the **OLIVE TREE FUND** (founded 1904), devoted to the reafforestation of Palestine, and the **DAVID AND FANNY WOLFFSOHN FUND** (founded 1907), for the erection of workmen's dwellings in the Palestinian colonies.

**THE PALESTINE LAND DEVELOPMENT COMPANY** (registered capital £17,500) was founded in 1908 to acquire and develop land in Palestine, and to resell it in smaller holdings to prospective settlers.

**THE "EREZ ISRAEL" COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION** is a co-operative settlement company, formed in 1910, to encourage and assist the formation of agricultural co-operative societies in Palestine.

**THE "KEDEM" JEWISH CULTURE FUND** was founded in 1912 to support and encourage the propagation of Jewish national culture in Palestine.

**THE "JÜDISCHER VERLAG"** of Berlin is the publication agency of the Zionist Organization.



## APPENDIX III

### THE JEWISH COLONIES IN PALESTINE

#### (a) JUDÆA

		Acres
1.	Mikveh Israel (1870) .. .. .	625
2.	Petach Tikvah (1878) .. .. .	5700
	Ain Ganim (1910) .. .. .	590
	Kafr Saba (1904) .. .. .	1750
3.	Rishon le Zion (1882) .. .. .	3180
4.	Wad-el-Chanin (1882) .. .. .	} 760
5.	Nes Zionah (1897) .. .. .	
6.	Ekron (1884) .. .. .	3570
7.	Katrah (1884) .. .. .	1360
8.	Castinieh (1895) .. .. .	1280
9.	Mozah (1891) .. .. .	250
10.	Rehoboth (1890) .. .. .	3250
11.	Ben Shamen (1910) .. .. .	525
12.	Bir Jacob (1907) .. .. .	500
13.	Hulda (1909) .. .. .	455
14.	Artuf (1896) .. .. .	1200
15.	Djemama (1911) .. .. .	1270

#### (b) SAMARIA

16.	Zichron Jacob (1882) .. .. .	} 5900
	Bath Shelomo (1889) .. .. .	
	Sheveya (1891) .. .. .	
	Marah (1907) .. .. .	
	Herbet Menschié (1911) .. .. .	
	Tantura .. .. .	
17.	Chederah (1891) .. .. .	7125
	Chefzibah (1905) .. .. .	1350
18.	Atlit (1907) .. .. .	1570

#### (c) GALILEE

19.	Rosh Pinah (1882) .. .. .	9500
20.	Yeessod Hamaaleh (1883) .. .. .	2900
21.	Mishmar Hayarden (1884) .. .. .	1750

# THE JEWISH COLONIES IN PALESTINE 239

					Acres.
22.	Ain Zeitun (1891)	..	..	..	1500
23.	Metula (1896)	..	..	..	4250
24.	Mahanaim (1899)	..	..	..	2000
25.	Sedjera (1899)	..	..	..	4050
26.	Jemma (1902)	..	..	..	5300
27.	Bedjen (1905)	..	..	..	1350
28.	Mesha (1902)	..	..	..	2300
29.	Melhamieh (1902)	..	..	..	1950
30.	Mizpah (1908)	..	..	..	900
31.	Kinnereth (1908)	..	..	..	} 2800
	Daleika (1909)	..	..	..	
	Daganiah (1909)	..	..	..	
32.	Migdal (1910)	..	..	..	1125
33.	Merohavia (1911)	..	..	..	2250
34.	Poriah (1911)	..	..	..	900

## (d) TRANSJORDANIA

35.	Bené Yehudah (1886)..	..	..	..	800
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In addition about 34,000 acres suitable for settlement have been purchased, but not yet colonized.

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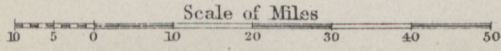
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THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA (New York, 1901-1906) contains many articles which deal with different aspects of the subjects discussed in this volume.





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